FIVE SERMONS PREACHED VPON Seuerall Occasions.

Viz.

1. *The Athenian Babler*, at S. MARIES in OXFORD.
2. *Iacob and Esau, Election and Reprobation*, at PAVLS Crosse.
3. *The Arraignment of the Arrian*, at PAVLS Crosse.
4. *Moses and Aaron*, at S. MARIES in OXFORD.
5. *Natures Ouerthrow and Deaths Triumph*, at the Funerall of Sir *Iohn Sydenham* at *Brimpton*.

BY
Humphry Sydenham, Mr. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM College in OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed by *Iohn Hauiland* for *Nicholas Fussell* and *Humphry Mosley*, and are to be sold at their shop at the signe of the Ball in *Pauls* Church-yard.
1627.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, HENRY, Lord DANVERS, Baron of DANCY, and Earle of DANBY; The glory of both ages.

MY GOOD LORD,

THat *seruice* is most free of *insinuation*, which is so of *attendance*; whil'st others onely *looke* on your *vertues*, with your *fortunes*, and admire them, I both *weigh*, and *contemplate*, and so *honour* you more than they by how much a iust *speculation* exceeds an outward and *partiall survey* of *men*, and of their *actions*. 'Tis my beleefe in *that* hath arm'd my resolution in this bold tender of my *labours*, which though I acknowledge vn-

worthy either of your *iudgement*, or acceptance, yet the noble incouragements and faire interpretations you haue giuen *those* formerly deliuer'd in your *eare*, haue taught me a confidence that you will entertaine *these* also offer'd to your *eye*, a *Iudge* more seuere than the other, because more subtill, and (what is more) more deliberate; howeuer, did I not beleeue they would passe the mercy of an *honorable* perusall, I should neuer haue expos'd them to the criticisme & comment of a censorious *Age*, wch vnderualues *most* things, because they are *common*, and *many* things, because they are good. Though *mine* can lay no title to the *latter* in respect of their *frame* and *structure*, they may of the *subiect*, that is *sacred*, and should at least *inuite* acceptance, if not *inforce* it. As they are *(most Noble Lord)* vouchsafe them entertainment; they were publisht at the importunities of some *priuate*, but *reall* friends, to whom they addresse themselues only for *survey*, to you (now) for *patronage*, *they* may *incourage* my proceedings, but *greatnesse* must *protect* them; *your* countenance they beg, which if you daine to afford, you no lesse crowne *them*, than the *Authour*, who in all humility deuotes himselfe

Your Lordships vnfeined honourer

and loyall seruant,

HVM: SYDENHAM.

THE Athenian Babler.

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT

St. *MARIES* IN OXFORD,

the 9. of *July*, 1626. being

ACT-*Sunday*.

BY

Humphry Sydenham, Mr. of *Arts*, and

Fellow of WADHAM *College* in

OXFORD.

LONDON,

Printed for IOHN PARKER.

1627.

TO THE HOPEFVLL EXPECTATION, BOTH OF HIS NAME AND Countrey,

Sir HVGH PORTMAN, *BARONET.*

This.

MY HONOVR'D SIR:

OWeuer *the publishing of other Labours may entitle mee to* Ostentation, *this cannot but touch vpon* Humilitie, *since I haue exposed that to the* Eye *onely of a* Nation, *which I had formerly to the* Eare *of a* World, *a* Vniuersitie; *a* World *more glorious than that which inuolues it, by how much it exceeds*

the other, in her Iudgement, *in her* Charitie, *and (what is Noble too) her* incouragement; *of the latter, I had some taste in the deliuerie of* this, *when I was a fitter obiect of her Pitie, than approbation, whether shee reflected on* Minde *or* Body, *my* Discourse *or* Mee. *But that was the extension of* her *goodnesse, nothing that my weaknesse could expect or point at, but the* Mercie *of my* worthier *Friends, amongst whom, as you were then pleased to approue it, so now vouchsafe both to peruse and countenance; In that you shall glorifie the endeuours of him, who lookes no higher than the honour of this title,*

Your Friend that

euer serues you,

HVM: SYDENHAM.

THE ATHENIAN BABLER.

Text. Acts 17. Vers. 18.

Some said; What will this Babler say?

HE life of a true Christian, the Apostle cals a continuall warfare; The life of a true Apostle, the Christian cals a continuall Martyrdome; Each act of it hath a bloudy scene, but not a mortall; A few wounds cannot yet terminate his miserie, though they beginne his glorie. There are diuers rough breathings required to the Celestiall race; many a bleeding scarre to the good Fight,

sweatings, wrestlings, tuggings numberlesse to the crowne of Glorie. *Paul* had long since begun the course and finisht it, and can shew you a platforme of all the sufferings; the scrowle is ready drawne with his owne hand, you may peruse it if you please, 2 *Cor.* 11. where cruelties seemes to be methodicall, and torment accurate, persecution tumbles on persecution, as a billow on a billow, this on the necke of that; one seales not the truth of his Apostleship, many shall. Hee was but now at *Lystra*, where hee cured a Cripple, and hee is stoned for it; by and by at *Philippi* hee casts out a Deuill, and hee is scourged. Here's not all; sufferings of the body are not load enough for an Apostle; if he loue his Lord and Master (as he ought) hee must haue some of reputation too; hee that hath beene so long acquainted with the lash of the hand, must now feele that of the tongue too: Buffettings are not sufficient for Disciples, they must haue reuilings also for the name of *Iesus*. *Paul* therefore shall now to *Athens* (the eye of the learned world and seat of the Philosopher) where he meets with language as peruerse as the Religion, and amongst many false ones, findes no entertainment for the true; The mention of a *Iesus* crucified, stands not with the faith of an *Athenian*, nor a storie of the Resurrection with his Philosophie. The Altar there consecrated to the *vnknowne*, will not so soone smoake to the *iealous God*. The glorious Statues of *Mars* and *Iupiter*, cannot yet bee translated to the forme of a *Nazarite*. 'Tis not a bare relation can plant *Christ* at *Athens*, it must be reason, the sinew and strength of some powerfull argument, and to this purpose *Paul* was but now in hot disputation with the *Iewes* there in the *Synagogue*. By this time hee hath dispatcht; for loe yonder where he stands in earnest discourse with the people in the *Market*? The tumult is inlarged, and the *Athenian* already tickled with the expectation of some noueltie; Anon, the Gowne besets him, and

Vers. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

Act. 14. v. 10, 19.

Act. 16. 18, 23.

Act. 17. 23.

Act. 17. 7.

and all the rigid Sects of the Philosophers; as the throng increases, so doth the Cry; On that side, Censure, —*Some said he was a setter forth of strange Gods*; on this side, Preiudice, - *And some said, what will this Babler say?*

In the diuision of which tumult wilt please you to obserue mine.

1. *The persons Preiudicate*, maskt here vnder a doubtfull Pronoune, *Quidam*—*some*, —Τινες ἔλεγον, —*some said*—.
2. *The person preiudic'd*, cloathed in a terme of obloquy and dishonour, σπερμολόγος —*Babler*, —*What will this Babler say?* Thus the Field stands pitcht, where we may view the parts, as the persons, In a double squadron, no more. *Paul* and his Spirit in one part of the *Battalia*; *Epicures*, *Stoickes*, with their Philosophy, in the other, the rest are but lookers on, no sharers in the conflict. Here's all; All that's naturall from the words, and not wrested; For (mine owne part) I'le not pull Scripture into peeces, digging for particulars which are not offred, for that were to torment a Text, not diuide it. I affect nothing that is forc'd, loue Fluentnesse, and (what the maiestie of this place may (perchance) looke sowre on) plainnesse. Howeuer, at this time, I haue a little endeuoured that way, that those of *Corinth* and *Ephesus* may as well heare *Paul*, as these of *Athens*. I come not now to play with the quaint eare, but to rub it, nor to cherish the dancing expectation of those *Athenians* which cry —*Newes*, *Newes*, — but to foile it. And this is well enough for a *Babler*, that's the doome at *Athens*, mine, now, and iustly too. I may not expect a greater mercy of the tongue thence, then an Apostle had, especially when a *Stoicke* raignes in it. Whose Religion (for the most part) is but snarling, and a maine peece of his learning, Censure; But let's heare first what he can say of the *Babler*, next, what the *Babler* will say. I begin with the persons preiudicate, Τινες ἔλεγον, *Some said*.

Acts 17.8,21.

Part 1.

Some? what some? The front of this Verse presents them both in their quality, and number; *Philosophers*. What, of all Sects? No.— *Certaine Philosophers*— of old, τινὲς, since, by the modesty of *Pythagoras* a little degraded of that height, as if it trenched too neere vpon ambition, to entitle themselues immediatly vnto Wisdome, but to the loue of it, and therefore now, φιλόσοφοι, yet still of venerable esteeme among the *Athenians*. *Aretius* calls them their *Diuines*; *Brentius* their *Patriarchs*, and their *Prophets*; Each word they spake was as canonicall as Text, and they themselues both Masters of it, & of the people. Of these there were diuers Sects, two (here) specified, *Epicures*, *Stoickes*; these were extremes in the rules both of their life and tenent; the *Epicure* in the defect, the *Stoicke* in the excesse. Betweene them both were the *Peripatetickes*, and the *Academicks*, better mixt and qualified in their opinion, stooping neither to the loosenesse of the one, nor the austerity of the other; but of these no mention in the Text. The *Areopagites* (intimated in the foot of this Chapter) were not *Philosophers*, but the *Athenian* Iudges, some say; others, their *Consuls*, or their *Senatours*: In the street of *Mars* (where the *Athenians* brought *Paul*, and enquired of his Doctrine) was their Tribunall, where they sate vpon their more weighty affaires, and, of old, arraigned *Socrates*, and condemned him of impiety. But I haue no quarrell to these, since I finde they had none to the Apostle; The *Stoicke* and the *Epicure* are the sole incendiaries and ringleaders of the tumult, whom the very Text points out in this, —τινὲς δὲ—*some said*, —men as opposite in their opinion, as to the truth; one seated his chiefe happinesse in the pleasure of the Body, the other in the vertues of the Minde. The *Epicure* attributed too much to voluptuousnesse, the *Stoicke* to the want of it; that would haue a vacuity of griefe both in minde, and sense; this taught his —ἀπάθειαν— a nullity of

* Verse 17.

In cap 17. Act.

Aretius in cap. 17. Act.

Acts 17.22.

Gualt. ibid.

Aretius in cap. 17. Act.

of all affections in either. These are the broad and common Differences in their opinion, and such as here tread opposite to the Doctrine of Saint *Paul*; but there are others more cryticall and nice, which not finding touch'd by the pen of the Holy Ghost, I presum'd to enquire after in their owne Schooles, in *Zeno's Stoa* for one, and in *Epicurus* Garden for the other. A travell somewhat vnnecessarie for *Athens* amongst *Philosophers*, where they are daily canuast. Yet (perchance) there may bee —*some Nobles here of* Berea, *and chiefe women of* Thessalonica, *which haue received* Paul *with all willingnesse*— which know them not. I shall bee onely your Remembrancer, their Informer.

Vers. 17. Vers. 4.

Epicures (for I begin with them, they haue the precedence in the Text) challenge both name and pedegree, from *Epicurus* the Founder and Father of that Sect. Hee was borne at *Athens*, seuen yeeres after the death of *Plato*, where he liued, taught, died. He wrote 300. Bookes in his owne Art, without reference to a second pen, and (what is strange) obseruation; no sentence, no precept of Philosopher, but his owne; those of *Democritus, de Atomis*, and of *Aristippus, de Voluptate*, *Dionysius Halicarnassens* cals his. His deportment and way of carriage, in matters of Moralitie, was verie remarkable. *In Parentes pietas, in Fratres beneficentia, in Seruos mansuetudo.* ('Tis the triple commendation *Laertius* giues him,) And in lieu of these and the like vertues, his Countrey afterwards erected many brazen Statues, and *Athenens* wrote certaine Epitaphs to the perpetuall embalming both of his name and honour. Hee was one it seemes more irregular in his tenent, than his life, abstemious he was, moderate, in his repast, in his desires,—*Oleribus viens exiguis*, *Hierome* sayes, and he confesses himselfe in his Epistles, that Temperance was his feast, the lowest staire of it, Parcimonie: *Aqua contentus & polentâ.* His place of teaching was in Gardens, and the manner

Lib. 1. Hist.

Lib. de Epicur.

A Forosic in Locum.

Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 3. Genalium Dierum, cap. 11.

manner not onely to the capacitie, but the disposition of his hearer.

1. The whole Fabricke of his precepts hee builds vpon this double ground; The one on Mans part, that hee is composed of a double substance, a Body and a Soule, and both these mortall; yea, the Soule vanishes sooner than the Body; For when the Soule is breathed out, the Body yet remaines the same, and the proportion of parts perfect. *Anima mox vt exierit velut fumus vento diuerberata, dissoluitur*; But the Soule is no sooner separate than blowne away, like smoake scattered by the wind. So Saint *Augustine* relates the opinion in his Tract, *De Epic. & Stoic. 5. cap.* On this foundation was raised their great opinion, that Mans chiefest happinesses consisted in the pleasure of the Body. *The rest of that was the end of all Blessednesse; For to this purpose doe wee all things, that we may neither be disturbed nor grieued*, ('tis *Epicurus* ownDoctrine.) Yet euery pleasure is not so magnified, as that of the Pallate by superfluitie, of the Body by effeminatenesse; *But, when after a long toleration of sorrow a greater pleasure ensues, when the Body is no more beaten with greefe, the Minde vntost and free from all waues of perturbation, there was the true Happinesse. Hee was blessed that enioyed those delights in present; future, they neither beleeued nor cared for, Death was the slaughterman of all:* And therefore *Seneca* cals the Schoole of the *Epicures*; *Delicatam, & vmbraticam, apud quos virtus voluptatis ministra.* For if the Soule also perisheth with the Body, the dirge and *requiem* that they sing, is *Ede, Bibe, Lude*, Eat and drinke, for to morrow we shall die; and after death what pleasure? And therefore wee finde their vsuall *Epicedium*, ἔφαγον & πίον· νῦν εἰς τοῦς νεκρούς, —*Death is nothing to vs, for what is dissolued wants sense, and what wants sense is nothing to vs. For if Man bee composed of Body and Soule, and Death bee the dissolution of both, the burthen of their song runnes instantly*; *Cum summus, non est mors,*

In Epist. ad Herodotum.

Senec. lib. 4. de Benefic.

Lib. 3. Pyrron. Hypotyp. cap. 24.

mors, cùm autem mors est, non sumus; so *Sextus Empiricus*: Moreouer, they would haue the soule a kinde of body, otherwise (say they) *it would neither doe nor suffer. Incorporeum*, with them, is all one with *Vacuum*; and therefore, *the Soule* (they sayd) *was composed of Atomes, and when the Atomes in a man were dissolued, then the Soule died*, as *Epicurus* himselfe in his Epistle to *Herodotus*.

The other foundation is on Gods part; for the *Epicure* grants there is a God, but denies his Prouidence; howbeit, vnder a glorious colour —*Deum ad Cœli cardines obambulare, & nulla tangi mortalium curâ*, as if forsooth, it would not stand with the maiestie of the world, to regard what is done in those sublunarie parts, and so make God (as *Tertullian* complaines) *Otiosum, & inexercitum neminem in humanis rebus*,—haply conceiting it might detract somewhat from his delight and pleasure, to molest himselfe with the care of this nether world. Aboue all things this moued him most, *Homines religiosos*,— that the most religious men were most of all afflicted, whereas those which did either wholly neglect the Gods, or serue them but at their pleasure, came into no misfortune, or at least no misfortune like other men. And in fine, *Ipsa etiam Templa fulminibus conflagrari*,— he obserued that the Temples also raised for the honour of the Gods, and dedicated to their seruice, were oftentimes burnt with fire from Heauen. Out of which premisses, the silly Heathen gathers this desperate Conclusion: *Surely the Almightie walketh in the height of Heauen, and iudgeth not; Tush, God careth not for those things.*

2.

Gualt. in locum.

In Apol. aduersus gentes, cap. 24.

Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 3. Genialium Dierum, cap. 11.

Stoickes (so deriued from *Stoa* where *Zeno* taught, the Master of that Sect) were of a more sowre and contracted brow; their seueritie drew their name into a prouerbe, *Stoicum supercilium, gravitas Stoica*: their Precepts were for the most part but a Systeame of harsh and austere

austere Paradoxes. *A wise man is then blest, when under the greatest torments.* Metellus *lives not more happily than* Regulus. *A wise man is free from all passions. He is a foole that doth commiserate his friend in distresse: Mercie and Pitie are diseases of the minde, and one with the species and perturbations of griefe, ment all sicknesses disturbe no wise mans health. He can neither erre, nor be ignorant, nor deceive, nor lie. He is alone to be reputed rich, a Master of his owne libertie, a King, without sinne, equall to God himselfe; Hoc est summum bonum, quod si occupas, incipis Deorum socius esse, non supplex,* it is *Seneca's* Stoycisme, in his 31. Epistle. In all vertues they held a paritie, and so in sinnes too, *Hee no more faultie that kils a man, than hee that cuts off a dogs necke.* Touching God and the nature of him, they strangely varied. Some thought him —*an immortall living Creature, a perfect rationall and a blessed*; others granted him a *Being and Prouidence*; but this Prouidence they vassall to their *Stoycall Fate*, and make Gods gouernment no: free and voluntarie, but necessitated and compelled. *Vt Deus ipse fati necessitate constrictus cum Cœli machina violenter ferretur,* (so *Calvin.*) Touching Man, they taught that his chiefest happinesse was placed in the mindes vertue, which opinion though it shew faire and glorious, tends but to this —*Quemuis mortalem fœlicitatis suæ artificem esse posse,* (sayes *Bullinger.*) Euerie man should bee the contriuer and squarer out of his owne happinesse; and thus weake man is hereby blowne vp with a proud confidence, that being vertuous he should be adorned with the spoiles of God, —*Est aliquid quo sapiens antecedat Deum, ille naturæ beneficio, non suo sapiens est.* I forbeare to translate the proud blasphemie, it is *Seneca's* in his 53. Epistle. But me thinkes this vaunting *Stoicke* might easily haue beene taken downe by his owne Principles, for aske but any of them, how long their soule shall enioy that supposed happinesse: *Tully* makes answer for them,

Tull. 5. de Finibus & 1. Academ.

Lypsius in manuduct. ad Stoicam Philosoph.

Tull. 1. de nat. Deorum.

Tull. lib. 1. de nat. Deorum.

Diogen. Laert. in vita Zeno. lib. 7.

In 17. cap. Act.

In locum.

them, —*Diu manfures aiunt animos, semper negant*—, Like long-lived Crowes, they last out some yeeres after the bodies Death; but by their owne confessions grow old continually, and die at last; and then wherein may the *Stoicke* bragge more than the *Epicure?* In this, little. They both held, *the soule was of it selfe a body*; the *Stoicke* did extend it a little further, and then obnoxious to corruption too. And yet *Antipater*, and *Possidonius* (chiefe members of that Sect) said, the Soule was a hot spirit, for this made vs to moue and breath; And all soules should endure till that heat were extinguisht, *Cleanthes* said, but *Chrysippus*, onely wise-mens. Thus some are as giddy in their opinions, as sottish; others, as detestable, as giddy; one dotes on the world, and would haue it to be —*Animal rationale*,—The vniuerse must haue a Soule, that immortall, and the parts thereof, *Animantium animæ*. A second falls in loue with Vertues, and would haue them to be *glorious liuing Creatures*; but this foole *Seneca* lashes with an —*O tristes ineptias, ridiculæ sunt*, in his 113. Epistle. A third adores the Starres, and would haue them *nourisht, the Sunne from the Sea, the Moone from the lesser waters*. A fourth growes salacious, and hot, and would haue a *communitie of Wiues to Wise-men, of Strumpets to the residue*. A fifth, yet more deuillish, will haue a *liberty of Bed from the Father to the Daughter, from the Mother to the Sonne, from the Brother to the Sister, and so backe againe*: and to make all compleatly heathenish, (and I tremble to breath it in a Pulpit) *A Sonne may participate of the body of his sine Mother, and eat the flesh of his dead Father*, ἀθέμιτον, *detestabile*; Cries *Sextus Empericus*,—*Zeno approbat quod apud nos Sodomitæ*,—in his 3. booke *Pyrroniarum Hypotypωsiωn*, Cap. 24.

5. De Finibus.

Laert. lib. de Epicur.

Sextus Emper. Pyrron. Hypot. cap. 24. lib. 3.

Thus with as breuity as I could, I haue traced out the principall positions of these diuided Sects. Worthy ones no doubt, to bandy against the sacred

Fundamentalls of an Apostle, yet if it now please you to follow them, —*Estoà, & hortis, in Synagogam,*—From their Gallery and Garden where they taught, into their Synagogue, you shall ouertake them there all flocked together about Saint *Paul*, and (as the Text describes it) *encountring* him. Here is iust matter for obseruation, if not for wonder. *Epicures, Stoickes*, men which iarre as much as any that beare the name of *Philosophers* can doe amongst themselues, are ready (neuertheleſſe) to meet in a tumult, and ioyne forces against an Apostle, strange, did wee not know that the wisedome of this world were enmity against God, and that —*Christ vnto the Iewes a stumbling blocke, vnto the Grecians foolishnesse.* What the ground was which should occasion this assault, Saint *Augustine* coniectures to be (and it is not repugnant to the drift of the Text) *Quid faciat beatam vitam?* What might make a man most happie? The *Epicure* hee answers; *Voluptas corporis*, the pleasure, but with this limitation, the honest pleasure of the body. The *Stoicke* he saith, —*Virtus*,—The vertue of the minde; the Apostle replies, —*Donum Dei*, it is the gift of GOD: *Lyra* addes, that from thence the sequele led them to the Resurrection. For the *Epicures* ioy could last no longer than his subiect; his blisse must die with his body; and the *Stoickes* foresaw not the Soules immortality, and therefore could not promise euerlasting happinesse. But the Apostle he preacheth a Resurrection of body and soule, and by that Eternall life, and so by consequence euerlasting Happinesse through Christ, both of Soule and Body. This seemes to haue beene the subiect of their Dispute, but their Arguments I can by no meanes collect; Belike they were so silly, that they were not thought worthy to be enrolled amongst those more noble Acts of the Apostles, only their impudence, that is so notorious that it may not be omitted. For, on what side soeuer the victory goes, theirs

Acts 17.17.

1 Cor.1.23.

Calvin. in locum.

Aug Tract. de Epicur. & Stoicis, cap 7. Lyra in cap. 17. Act.

Acts 17.18.

theirs is the triumph; the cry runnes with the *Athenian*, the Philosopher hath non-plust the Diuine, and the Apostle *bables*. Thus the wicked haue bent their bowe, and shot their arrowes, euen bitter words, bitter words against the Church, and her true members in all Ages. The naturall man led on by the dull light of reason, making Philosophie his Starre, endeuours with those weake twinklings, those lesser influences to obscure the glorie of the greater light, that of Diuine truth; so it was in the first dawne and rising of the Church. *Iannes* and *Iambrès*, the great Magitians of *Ægypt*, withstood *Moses* working miracles before *Pharaoh*. But all the spels of Magicke with their blacke power, neuer wrought so mischieuously against the Church as the subtill inchantments of the Philosopher. Christianity neuer felt such wounds, as from the Schoole of the *Athenian*. The *Seminary* of the wrangling Artist; the *Epicure*, *Stoicke*, *Platonist*, they were Philosophers, that's enough; they not onely strugled to oppose Fundamentalls of Faith, but to destroy them. Euery age of the Church, and almost euery place of it will giue vs a world of instances; one *Alexandria* affords an *Ætius* and a *Demophylus* against Christ; one *Constantinople* a *Macedonius*, and an *Eunox* against the Holy Ghost; one *Ephesus* an *Anthemius*, and a *Theodore* against the Virgin *Marie*; one *Athens* (here) an *Epicure*, and a *Stoicke* against *Paul*; Nay, the sophistry of one peruerse but nimble Disputant, hath cost more liues than are now breathing in the Christian world, and opened such a sluce and Arch thorow the body of the Easterne Church, which was not stopt againe almost in the current of three hundred yeeres, when downe it bloud ran swiftly from the butcheries of *Valens* and *Constantius*, and the limbes, the thousand limbes of slaughtered Infants swam with the violence of the Torrent, euen then when Christianity groaned vnder the mercilesse inuentions and various

tortures

tortures of the *Arrian* Massacre and persecution. Philosophers were the first *Patriarchs* of that Heresie, and hence I suppose was that Edict of *Constantine*, that as a badge and character of their profession, they should be no more called *Arrians*, but *Porphirians*, the venomous brood of their cursed Master, and one that then blew the coale to most combustions of the Primitiue Church; For, at *the Councell of Nice* (the place, and meanes ordained by that good Emperour for the suppression of *Arrius*, *Anno Christi* 325.) some, if not of his name, yet of his profession, (for they were Philosophers) trouped thither in droues and multitudes, not onely to oppose the Bishops, but to vpbraid them, *Odio inflammati quod superstitiosa Gentilium religio antiquari caperat*, as *Ruffinus lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. And before that (in the Apostles time) about the yeere of Christ 75. they went about from Citie to Citie with this pretext onely to reforme publique misdemenours, and to that purpose had certaine Sermons to the people, for rectifying their Conversation in morall carriages, and so seemed industrious to reduce them to a better forme, but the maine project was to confront the Apostles doctrine, and establish them more immouably in the former superstition of the *Gentiles*: thus did *Dyon*, *Apollonius*, *Euphrates*, *Demetrius*, *Musonius*, *Epictetus*, *Lucian*, and others, as *Baronius* in his first Tome 777. *pag.* nay, the very dregs of them (saith the Antiquary) the *Cynicke*, and the *Epicure*, so violent (here) against *Paul*. *Hos præ cæteris infestos sensit Christiana religio*.—These were the heathen *Iannisaries*, the chiefe Souldiers and speare-men against the Christian Faith, when at *Rome* the sides of that Religion were strucke thorow with their blasphemous declamations, *Et petulantium eorum calumnijs & dictenijs misere proscindebatur*, the same *Baronius* in his second Tome, *pag.* 154. Thus all violent oppositions of Christian truth had their first conception in the wombe of

Socrat. lib. 1. ca. 5.

Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 17.

Ad annum 75.

Baron. ad annum 164.

Philosophy;

Philosophy; The Fathers which maffick't with the tumults of those times, said in effect as much,—*Omnes hæreses subornauit Philosophia*, —*Marcion* came out of the Schoole of our *Stoicke*; *Celsus*, of the *Epicure*; *Valentinus*, of that of *Plato*; all heresies were the flourishings and trimmings of humane Learning. *Inde Æones, & formæ nescio quæ, & Trinitas hominis apud Valentinum.* Thence those *Æones* (I know not what *Ideas*,) and that triple man in *Valentinus*, he was a *Platonist*. Thence *Marcions* quiet God, it came from the *Stoickes*; And the Soule should be made subiect to Corruption,—is an obseruation of the *Epicures*, and the deniall of the Resurrection, the ioynt opinion of their whole Schooles. And when their —*Materia prima* is matcht with God, it is *Zeno's* Discipline, and when God is said to be a fiery Substance, *Heraclitus* hath a finger in it, thus *Tertullian*. Saint *Hierom* keepes on the Catalogue —*inde Eunomius præsert.* Thence *Eunomius* drew his poyson against the Eternity of the Sonne of God, For, *whatsoeuer is begotten and borne, before it was begotten, was not.* Thence *Nouatus* blockes vp all hope of pardon for offences on Gods part, that hee might take away repentance and all suit for it, on ours. Thence *Manichæus* double God, and *Sabellius* single person; and to be short, —*De illis fontibus universa dogmata argumentationum suarum riuulos trahunt*: —*Menandrians*, *Saturnians*, *Basilidians*, *Ammonians*, *Proclians*, *Iulians*, and the residue of that cursed Rabble, had from thence their conception, birth, nourishment, continuance. Hereupon the great Doctour of the *Gentiles*, writing purposely of their Wisdome, alleageth no other reason why they were not wise vnto Saluation, but the *wisdome of this world. The world through wisdome knew not God*, 1 *Cor.* 1. 20. And therefore he prescribes the *Colossians* a —*Cauete nè vos seducat*,—Take heed lest any man spoile you through Philosophie and vaine deceit. *Fuerat Athenis*, Saint *Paul*

Lib. de Prescript. aduers. Hæres.

Comment. in Nahum, ad cap. 3.

Ioban. Baptist. Christus de Ethnic. Philos. Caute Legend. Quin. 1.

Coloss. 2. 4.

De Præscript. aduers. Hæres.

had beene at *Athens* (saith *Tertullian*,) and knew by his often encounter there, how desperately secular and prophane Knowledge wounded Diuine truth. Insomuch, that the Father is of opinion, *Prò hac sententiâ omnes hæreses damnari*, in his 5. Booke against *Marcion*, 19. Chapter.

But whilest wee goe about to vindicate our Apostle, let vs not be too iniurious to the *Philosopher*; The *Epicure* and the *Stoicke* had their drosse and rubbish, yet they had their Siluer too, which had past the fornace, tried and purified enough for the practice of a Christian. Though they had Huskes and Acornes for their Swine, yet they had Bread for Men. It was not their Philosophie was so pestilent, but the vse it; our Apostle reprehends not the true, but the vaine; no doubt there is that which is Sanctified, as well as the Adulterate, otherwise the Fathers would neuer haue stiled Diuinity, *Philosophy*; That is a glorious ray sent downe from Heauen by the Father of Light; This but strange Fire some *Prometheus* stole thence, and infused into a peece of babling clay which circumuents weake men, and vnder a shadow and pretext of Wisdome, oftentimes carries away probabilitie for truth. And it was this latter that inflamed the youth of *Augustine* to the studie of it; but hee was soone cool'd when hee descried the other; then —*Nomen Christi non erat ibi*, —in the third of his *Confessions*. And the *words* — Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, *were not now to be read in the great Peripatetick*. —Insomuch, that that former asseueration of his — *Philosophos tantùm extuli, quantùm impios non oportuit*, —hee recants in the first of his Retractations; and against the *Academickes* he is at once zealous and peremptory. —*Huius mundi Philosophiam sacra nostra meritissimè detestantur*, —Our sacred Discipline vtterly detests Philosophie; But what? *The Philosophie of this world*, which I know not whether it hath more conuinced or begotten errour, or improued

Cap. 4.

Cap. 1.

Lib. 3. cap. 19.

vs in our knowledge, or staggered vs. And therefore *Iustin Martyr*, after his Conuersion from the Philosopher to the Christian, complained hee was deluded by reading *Plato*; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports of *Carpocrates*, and *Epiphanes*, who reading in *Platoes Common-wealth*, that —*Wines ought to be common*, taught instantly their owne to follow that vertuous principle, it is *Baronius* Quotat. in his 2. Tome, *pag.* 76. Thus the Gold which *Salomon* transports from *Ophyr*, hammered and polished as it ought, beautifies the Temple; but if it fall into the hands of the *Babylonians* they worke it to the ruine of the Citie of God.

In Cel. cum Tryphone Iudæo.

Ad annum 120.

And by this time *Paul* hath past his encounter, & begins now to suspect the censure of the Philosopher. He that enters the *Synagogue* at *Athens*, is to expect nimble Eares, and sharpe Tongues. If he Dispute, hee must hazard an absurdity; if he Preach, hee *bables*. What hee doth on the one side lesse affectedly, and plaine, the *Epicure* wrests instantly to the censure of a *Bull*, what more tiersly, and polite; on the other, the *Stoicke* to a *strong Line*. Thus betweene the acrenesse of the one, and the supercilousnesse of the other, *Paul* shall not scape his lash; but the comfort is, except that the Parallel (here) exceeds the patterne, our Critick's are not numberlesse; onely, Τινες—*some said*; and these some (too) very probably, but *Philosophers*; that is, —*Gloria animalia & popularis aura atq; rumoris venalia mancipia*, as *Hierom* characters them. Creatures that will be bought and sold for popular applause; and when those factions are thus met, what is the issue? All they leaue behind is but a meere *saying*, —Τινες ἔλεγον, —*some said*, —and not said onely of late, but done too, done violently against *Paul*, not only at *Athens*, in the *Synagogue*, but in the hill of *Mars* too, the place of their consultation, where if the rude *Epicure* and the *Stoicke* cannot cry him downe enough at *Corinth*, *Iewes* shall rise against him, and bring

Acts 17.22.

him to the iudgement seat before *Gallio* the chiefe Deputie, *for doing things otherwise than the Law*; but maugre all their spight, it was found (said the Text) but a —*cauill of names and words*.— and he is dismist the Tribunall with consent of the Iudge, and little glorie to the Persecutor: The storie you may finde in the 18. of this Booke, the application neerer home, thus. There is an out-side austeritie, which lookes grim vpon offences, and pretends strangely to publique reformation; but the heart is double, and the designe base, when it is not out of zeale to the common cause, but enuy to the person. There are some which can harbour cleanely an inueterate grudge, and like cunning Apothecaries, guild handsomely their bitter pils; but when occasion of reuenge is offered, like wind that is crept into the cauernes of the earth, it swels and struggles, and shakes the whole masse and bulke till it hath vent, which not finding close enough by their owne persons, they set their Pioners a digging, and their Moles are heauing vnder earth, thinking to blow vp all vnseene. There is no malice so desperate as that which lies in ambush, and with her fangs hid, that proiect is euer merciless, though the stroake miscarrie.

Acts 18. 5.

Beloued, if *Athens* be thus an enemie to *Athens*, and will nurse vp Snakes in her owne bosome, and Vultures for her owne heart, what can she expect from the lips of Aspes, and venome of sharpe set Tongues, which cry of her as they did sometimes of *Ierusalem*, —*Downe with it euen to the ground?* —*The Virgin daughter is become an Harlot*, the rendeuouz of the *Epicure*, the *Synagogue* of Lewdnesse, *the Pap of Exorbitancie*.—Τοῦτο ἔλεγον,—*Some sayd it*. Some, that not only went out from vs, but were of vs too, but whilest here little better than profest *Epicures*; at *Rome* (lately) bold *Stoicks*, and in a beardlesse austeritie, cry downe the Discipline of *Athens* in open Senate; There are some so ambitious of the thing called

Honour,

Honour, (indeed but a meere tympanie and aire of true Honour) that they will venter for it thorow the iawes of Periurie, forgetting the loyaltie they owed to their sometimes Mother, and the fearefull engagements made her by way of oath, for the vindicating of her honour; but these haue *said*, and had they said truely, it had beene in such a high iniustice, and in-sonnes too broadly discouers their little truth of affection, and lesse of iudgement. As for those ignorant cries the monster Multitude casts vpon *Athens*, here, she hath made the obiect, both of their scorne and pitie. The wounds, the vnnaturall wounds from her owne *Nero* so touch our *Agrippina*.

And now the *Epicure* and the *Stoicke haue said*, *said* and done what they can, against *Paul* and against *Athens*; you haue heard their violence, please you now turne your attentions from the *Philosopher* to the *Diuine*, and heare —*What the Babler will say.*

What will the Babler say?

A God, at *Myletum*? at *Lystra*, *Mercurie*? and at *Athens*, a *Babler*? Sure mens censures varie with the place, and as the Clime is seared, so is the opinion: Had they stept all their malice and wit in one head-peece, and vented it by a tongue more scurrilous than that of *Rabshekey*, they could not haue prophaned the honour of an Apostle with a terme of such barbarousnesse and derogation. *Babler*; A word so foule and odious, of that latitude and various signification in the originall, that both Translators and Expositors haue beene plunged strangely and diuided in the apt rendring it in a second Language; to omit the vulgar ones of —*Nugator*, *Rabula*, *Garrulus*, *Blaterator*,—as of those which follow

Pars 2. Act. 28. vers. 6. & Cap. 24. 12.

Hesychius. *Oxnuess.* *Dionysius Areopagitus.*

Beza in locum, Vetus lectio. Erasmus in locum.

follow the heele and tracke of the letter meerely; others, which more closely pursue the Metaphor, giue it vs, by —*Seminator - verborum*,— a sower of words; others —*Semini - verbius*,— a seeder of them; a third sort, —*Seminilegus*,— a gatherer of seeds,— and this latter seemes to kisse and affie neerest with the nature of the word σπερμολόγος, an *Atticke* one, (sayes *Caietan*) metaphorically applyed (here) and hath reference to those σπερμολόγοι, certaine Birds (*Aretius* tels vs) so called, —ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν σπέρματα ἀναλέγειν— from gathering of seeds, or —ἀπὸ τῆς σπείρειν τοὺς λόγους— from sowing of speeches, —though this latter deriuation affect not some, as doubly *pecsant*, in the Etymon and the Metaphor; for then λογοσπόρος had beene more genuine, so *Beza*. Birds they were of vile esteeme amongst the *Athenians*, vse-lesse, neither for food nor song, —*Sed garritu perpetuo laborantes*,— so continually chattering, that they did racke and perplex the eares of all that heard them; in so much, that it grew prouerbiall amongst the *Atticks*, that hee that was loud in his discourse, or impertinent, or profuse, was instantly —σπερμολόγος, which seemes to sound one with that σπερματαλόγος *Athenæus* touches, —πτηνὰ σπερματολόγοι— quoted by *Erasmus*. The first (for ought I reade) that euer made vse of the word in this disgracefull way was *Demosthenes*, and he flung it vpon *Æschines*, who being an *Athenian*, dropt it (belike) afterwards amongst some of the Philosophers, and a *Stoicke* takes it vp, and bestowes it here on an Apostle. It was well shoulder'd from the *Philosopher* to the *Diuine*; but mee thinkes it should not sticke there. *Babling* ill becomes the lips of the *Leuite*; and it cannot hang truely vpon that tongue which hath beene touche with a coale from the Altar; and sure iustice cannot put it on vs, it must bee malice, or preindice, or both, and both haue done it, not onely on vs, but that great Apostle *Paul* himselfe, though choicely verst in all wayes of learning,

Caietan in loc.

Aretius in loc.

Beza vt supra.

Athenæus citatus ab Erasmo in loc.

Aretius & Erasmus in loc.

a knowne

a knowne Scholler, a profest Disputant, a great Doctor of the *Gentiles*, brought vp at the feet of *Gamaliel*, one that had done so many miracles to the conuersion of many, astonishment of all, yet hee cannot passe an *Athenian* without his lash, a *Philosopher* without his quip, —where the Gowne is so frequent, hard baulking the Criticke; *Liuie* will not like *Trogus*, nor *Caligula*, *Linie*; *Athanasius*, *Plato*, or a third *Athanasius*; *Tully*, *Demosthenes*, or the *Lypsian*, *Tully*; so many fancies, so many censures, — no auoyding them at *Athens*. Nay, were *Paul* a second time to arriue it, hee might yet perchance meet with an *Epicure* or a *Stoicke*, would haue a fling at him with his *Quid vult Seminilegus iste? What will this Babler say?* And this venome towards *Paul* swels not onely at *Athens*, but at *Derbe*, and *Lystra*, and the chiefe Cities of *Lycaonia*; scarce one in a Kingdome but would ierke at a *Paul*; and if he chance to come before *Felix* the Gouernour, some blacke-mouthed *Tertullus* will bee bawling at the barre, ready bill'd with a false accusation, —*This man is a mouer of sedition, goes about to pollute the Temple, a chiefe maintainer of the Sect of the Nazarites.*— Thus secular malice (thorow all ages) hath opposed the true members of the Church, and if it cannot disparage the honour of their title, it will spightfully plot the traducement of their honour, —*Vp thou Bald-pate, Vp thou Bald-pate*, children can cry at *Bethel*; — and, He is factious, he is vnconformable, he is a *Babler* at *Athens*, is the popular and common *Vogue*. Here is a large field offered mee, thorow which I might trauell, but this is not my way, it is too trodden; euerie Hackney rodes it, I haue found out as neere a cut, though the passage may seeme more stony and vneuen; thither bend I, where I shall shew you, how in Diuine matters wee may bee said to *babble?* how in Secular? in either how not? The *Symptomes* of that *Lip-disease*, the danger, the iudgement on it, the cure. Let the *Epicure* and the *Stoicke*, (awhile)

Acts 24. 5.

2 King 2. 23.

lay

lay by their censure, and heare, now —*What this Babler will say?*—

Hooker, lib. 5. Eccles. Pol.

Speech is the verie image, whereby the Minde and Soule of the speaker conueyeth it selfe into the bosome of him that heareth. The Sterne and Rother of the Soule, which disposeth the hearts and affections of men, like certaine notes to make vp an exact harmony. But this must bee soft and gentle then, not ouerscrued; It is with Speech, as it is with Tunes, if keyed too high, racke no lesse the Instrument than the eare that heares them, when those which are lower pitcht make the harmony both full and sweeter; your tumid and forced language harrowes the attention, when the facill and flowing stile doth not so much inuite applause, as command it; it is a gaudy, but an emasculate and weake eloquence, which is drest onely in a pompe of words, and glories more in the strength of the *Epithete*, than the matter; this is the *Body*, the other but the *Garment* of our discourse, which wee should suit as well to euerie subiect, as occasion; sometimes more liberally, sometimes more contracted ly, lest we be said to *babble*,—for it is true what *Archidamus* told the Orator of old,—They which know how to speake well, know also their times of silence.— And (indeed) to speake appositely and much, is not the part of one man, I am sure, not of a wise man.— *The words of him which hath vnderstanding, are weighed in the balance.* —Marke— weighed in the Balance. —Here is deliberation of speech, euennesse— *Pone Domine custodiam oris mea,*—was the prayer of *David*, —set a watch before my lips. And in the Law of *Moses*, the Vessell that had not the couering fastened to it was vncleane; and therefore the inner parts of a foole are resembled to a broken vessell, which hath neither part entire, nor couering, He can keepe no knowledge while he liueth, *Eccluf.* 21. 14. Hereupon those more nobly bred amongst the *Romanes*, learned first to hold their peace, and afterwards

Charron, lib. 3. Wisdome.

Hecatæus.

Eccluf. 21. 25.

Psal. 141. 3.

Philo.

to

to speake. —For, *Vnde illi cura cordis* (saith *Bernard*) *cui ne ipsa quidem adhuc oris circumspectio?* Hee is an ill treasurer of his owne thoughts, that keepes not the doores of his lips shut; and that heart is never lockt fast vpon any secret, where a prosuse tongue layes interest to the Key.

De triplici Custodia: linguam. meni.

And therefore Nature hath prouided well in fortifying this member more than any part of the *Bodie*, setting a garrison of the strong and stout men about it, *Eccles.* 12. doubly intrenching it with lips and teeth, not so much to oppose a forraine inuasion as to allay mutinies within, for the tongue is an vnruely member; and sides much with the peuersnesse of our will; and therefore Reason should keepe strict Sentinell vpon it, and as well direct, as guard it. Nature hath proportioned vs a double eare and eye to a single tongue, and Reason interprets instantly —*We should heare and see twice, ere wee speake once.* And indeed our tongues should follow our sense (sayes *Augustine*) and not our will, and the Father puts the foole handsomely vpon him, —*Qui non prius verbum ducit ad linguam rationis, quam educat ad linguam oris.* —

Ad Fratres in Eremi. serm. 2.

Let Reason (saith the Sonne of *Syrach*) goe before euerie enterprize and counsell to euerie action, to euerie vertuous action, (besides the latter of these) the Philosopher allowes a double Aduerbe, —*Scienter, Constanter.* —So that euerie discreet designe must haue besides Reason, Knowledge, Counsell, Constancie; Reason and Knowledge, the pole and card to direct it; Counsell, Constancie, to steere and ballace it. Hence it is that the tongue of a wise man is in his heart, and where the heart of a foole is, no ignorance so womanish but tels you.

Eccluſ. 37. 16.

Aristotle Ethic. lib. 3.

Eccluſ. 21.

So that the obseruation of S. *Bernard* comes seasonably here, —*Non personam tibi velim suspectam esse, sed linguam, præsertim in sermocinatione communi.* —In common talke we are not to heed the person so much as the tongue,

Bernard ut sup.

tongue, for by the *babling* of that wee may roue at the weight or weaknesse of the Master, for commonly he that nothing but talkes, talkes nothing, nothing of bulke or substance, shels onely and barkes of things without their pith or kernell.

To auoid then this disease of *babling* and profuse emptying of vaine words, the Disciples were prescribed, — their —*Habete sal in vobis*; — and salt (you know) was commanded of old, not onely to Men, but to *Sacrifices* and *Words*. That to words (not sauoured aright) S. *Augustine* calls, —*Sal infatuatum ad nullum condimentum*, — it seasons nothing as it should doe, euerie thing relishes amisse it toucheth. For the *Babler* doth not measure words by their weight, but by their number, neither regards he what he speakes, but how much; Thus whiles he labours to perswade the eare, he wounds it, and to inuite his hearer, he torments him. In the Leuitical Law, the man that had —*Fluxum seminis*, — was vncleane; — And *Gregorie* turnes the Allegorie on the dispencers of holy Mysteries. —Gods Word is the Seed, the Preacher the Sower of it; or, as *The* Father hath it on the Parable, —*Cophinus seminantis*, — the Seedesmans basket. —If he be then —*Incautè loquax*, — vnpremeditately *babling*, — *Non ad vsum generis, sed ad immunditiam semen effundit*, — and such an one in Primitiue times was called *Semini-verbius*, the Father tels vs in the second part of his *Pastorals*, 4. Chapter. And no doubt he that sowes ouermuch by the Tongue, shall seldome fructifie, except the seed be choice and orderly disposed, Speech being *the more exquisite communication of Discourse and Reason*, which as it should not bee too coursely open, so not inuolued; Hence the *Athenian* compared it to a rich peece of Arras drawne out in varietie of Stories, which displayed, opened both delight and wonder, but folded vp, neither; For, it is with Speech, as with some Aromaticks and perfumes, which in the masse & roll smell little, but

Marke 9.
Leuit. 12. 13.
Colos. 4. 6.
Ad Fratres in Eremo. serm. 2.
August. in Parab. seminan.
Greg. lib. 2. Past. cap. 4.
Charron, lib. 3.
Themistocles.

but beaten abroad fill the roome with fragrancie. Matter wound vp in obscuritie of language growes to the nature of a Riddle, and is not so properly Speech, as Mysterie; Things that hammer onely on our eares, not our intellectuals, are no more words, but sounds, meere —*babling*— are (only,) beaten with distinctlesse and confused noyse, nothing of substance in it for matter, or for forme; And the man that affects such particularenesse, heare how *Gregorie* playes vpon, —*Ego solertiæ nomine admiror, ne dicam, stultitiæ.* A wise man (sayes the Philosopher of old) when he openeth his lips, as in a Temple wee Behold the goodly similitudes and images of the Soule.— And indeed that Eloquence that is made the object of our sense and intellectuals, carries with it both maiestie and imitation, when that which runnes in a mist or vaile, Censure for the most part, sometimes, Pitie. Let the *Babler* then that thus speakes in a cloud, —*Pray that hee may interpret*, 1 *Cor.* 14. 13. it will require a Comment from his owne industrie; others are too dull to vndertake a taske of such an endlesse trauell. It is a preposterous way of interpretation, when the Glosse growes obscurer than the Text; Sermons which were first intended for the illumination of the vnderstanding, are at length growne like those answers of the Oracles, both intricate and doubtfull, They will require the heat of a sublimated braine, either to apprehend their raptures, or to reconcile them. But why at *Athens* such prodigies of Learning? Such monsters of affectation? Why this elaborate vanitie? This industrious *babling*? Let it no more touch the grauitie of the *Tippet* or the *Scarlet*, as fitter for a Deske than a Pulpit, and a lash than a reproofe. But soft *Stoicke*. Let mee not bee censured here too hastily a *Babler*. I am not so much a friend to the slouenly discourse, as to loath that which hath a decent and modest dresse; words apt and choyse, I hate not, onely those tortured and affected ones; I preferre

Nazian. in Præfat. Apol.

Socrates.

1 Cor. 14. 13.

Saint *Augustines* golden Key before his woodden, though this may vnlocke Mysteries as well as that; yet would I not giue way to the kick-shawed discourse, where there is commonly more sawce than meat; or, as *Quintilian* spake of *Seneca*, —*Chalke without Sand*,— more of lustre than of weight; It is the well-wouen and substantiall peece taskes mee, yet that too, not without the flourishings and intermixtures of discreet language. For it is here as it is in Needle-workes, where wee allow light colours, so the ground bee sad. The Brest-plate of Iudgement, which *Aaron* wore, was made with embroydered workes, and in the Ephod, there were as well diuersities of colours, as of riches, —Blew silke, and Purple, and Searlet, and fine Linnen.— That then of *Epiphanius* is worthy both of your memorie and imitation, —whose workes were read of the simple for the words, of the Learned for the matter.— So, —hee that will not runne the censure of a *Babler*, must haue as well his deepes for the Elephant, as his shallowes for the Lambe; Knowing that some are transported with heat of fancie, and others with strength of iudgement, and it is in the choyce of either, as in that of Stuffes, which some buy for the roundnesse and substance of the threed, others for the lightnesse of the colour. Matter not cloathed in handsomenesse of words is but dusted treasure, and like some Gardens, where there is fatnesse of earth, no Flower. Your embellisht phrase without sollidnesse of matter, but —*Copiosa egestas* (as Saint *Augustine* stiles it) a gawdie pouertie, and like some vnhappie tillages, where there is more of Poppie and Darnell, than good Corne; But where the materials are cleane, the language keem'd, there is the workmanship of an exact Pen-man; If they are both well mixt and cemented, there is a choyce master-peece, *Apelles* himselfe hath beene there.

Exod. 28. 15.

And howeuer, the discourse that is so brusht and swept others

others haue thought too effeminate for the Pulpit, yet, in some it is no way of affectation, but of knowledge. High fancies cannot creepe to humble expressions, and the fault is ostentimes in the preiudice or weaknesse of the receiuer, not in the elaboratenesse of the Pen-man. Sermons are not to be measured by their sound, or the haste and vncharitablenesse of a dull organ, the Eare is a deceitfull one, full of winding and vncertaine doores, and often carries false messages to the Sence, the Eye as it is a more subtill organ, so a more certaine, and though that be sometimes deceiued too when it is not master of the distance, yet vpon stricter perusall of the obiect, it giues you vncorrupt intelligence, when words passe (for the most part) by our eares like tunes in a double consort, which we may heare, not distinguish.

And yet notwithstanding, though at *Athens* amongst Philosophers, this polite way of discourse may be passable, and draw on sometimes approbation, sometimes applause; yet at *Ephesus* (where *Paul* is to encounter Beasts) it is but meere *Babling*; And to what purpose those lofty varieties, in sprinkled Congregations? Raptures and high visions are for *Cesarea*, when *Paul* is to speake before *Agrippa*, thinner exhortations will serue the Brethren at *Puteoli*. —And when all those descants and quauerings of the plausible and harmonious tongue shall lose their volubility and sweetnesse, and forget to warble (as the time will come (the Preacher tells vs) *when all those Daughters of Musicke shall be brought low*) the plaine song must take at last, that which is set to euery capacity and eare; and yet will afford you as well her varieties of satisfaction, as delight; to the iudicious solid fluentnesse, to apprehensions lower-rooted, waies more trodden to aduise, and comfort; to the weake and Soule-sicke, the still voice; to the obstinate and remorselesse, *lowder sounds*; perhaps this thunder-clap may breed a shower, that shower, a Sunne-shine. Teares and Com-

Acts 26. 13.

Acts 28. 14.

Eccles. 12.

fort are the successory children of reprehension, sometimes the twinnes; Let the sword of the Spirit then cut both wayes, but more to reproofe, than menacing; master thy Vineger with Oyle, so thou shalt not so much sharpen the heart of the Sinner, as supple it; some grow more refractary by rebuke, and some more flexible; For, it is with the word of a Preacher, as it is with Fire, which both mollifies, and hardens Steele, according to to the variety of hearts. If wee derive onely from one Throne coales of fire, and hot Thunderbolts, we kindle despaire in him we teach, not reformation; It is the temperate and gentle fire sparkles into zeale, when that which is too high & turbulent, growes at an instant both flame and ashes. *Let the Righteous smite me friendly* (saies the Kingly Prophet) *but let not their precious balmes breake my head.* —I allow reprehension a Rod, but not a Flaile, a hand to lash the transgressions of the time, not as some obe to thresh them.

Psal 141. 5.

Paul shall prescribe the Spirituall combatant a Sword, but not a Speare; except he had the *Grecians*, —which would both wound and cure. *Marah* may hane bitter waters, but *Gilead* must have balme too for the broken heart. Where sinnes are full kern'd and ripe, I denie not a Sickle to cut them downe, but the sinner, whether as Corne for the Barne, or Chaffe for the fire, I leaue to the disposall of the great Harvest-man.

Achillis.

In the apparition of God to *Eliah*, on Mount *Horeb*, (you know the Text, and therefore guesse at the allusion) A strong winde rent the Mountaines, and brake in peeces the Rocke, before the Lord; but the Lord was not in it; and there was a great Earthquake and a Fire, but the Lord was not in it. And in those winds and fires, and earthquakes which are both seene and heard on our *Horeb* here, the Lord oftentimes is not in them, for then the mountainous and rockie heart would bee cleft asunder, now it is vnbattered and rib'd with Adamant

1 King. 19. 11, 12.

damant proofe against perswasion. Knowing that these are but *Men* of Thunder, counterfeit thunder too, and there is a God that rules the true, his hot bolts and coles of Fire they quake and tremble at, not those fire-workes, and squibs and flashes here below, which spleenaticke men fling about (as they thinke) to terrour, but they returne by scorne. It is true (sayes *Bernard*) — *Sermo est Ventus*, but it is not alwayes, — *Ventus urens*, — *surge Aquilo, veni Auster, perfla hortum meum, & fluant Aromata illius*, — Arise O North, and come O South (the one (you know) is moist, and the other cold) yet both of these must blow on the garden of the Spouse that the spices thereof may flow out, *Cant.* 4.6. In the Song of *Moses*, did not doctrine drop as the raine? and Speech still as dew? as the shower vpon Hearbs? and as the great raine vpon the Grasse? I confesse, on *Sinai* once there was a thicke Cloud, Lightning and Thunder, and the mountaine smoaked; but the Text sayes, — *The people fled from it.* But on mount *Tabor*, the Cloud was bright, the Sunne cleare, and a Voice heard in stead of Thunder, and then the Disciples cry, — *Edificemus Domine*, Let vs build here.

Bernard. deprplici Cultu.

Cant. 4. 6.

Deut. 32. 2.

Exod. 20. 18.

Mat. 17. 2, 4, 5.

Amongst the numberlesse Gods the Heathens had, and the diuers wayes of Sacrifice they appeased them with, the Romaines had their — *Hostiam Animalem*, — in which the soule onely was consecrated to God, — the Host they offered must be pure and choise, not of Bulls or Swine; as creatures fierce and vncleane, but of Kids and Lambs, more innocent and milde, and of these too, such as were not lame, or diseased, or had — *Caudam aculeatam*, or; *Linguam nigram*, — sayes my Antiquary. You see stings in the taile, and blacknesse in tongue are exempted here and thought vnfit for this sacrifice of the Soule.

Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 3. c. 12.

Let the virulent *Babler* leaue the Letter and take the Allegory, and he hath applied; — For venomous & soule language

language doth exasperate and obdure euen those which the modest and gentle pierces. Let Billowes beat against a Rocke, they fall backe without wounding it, yet if moderate and gentle drops fall on a stone, they hollow it, not by violence, but the often Distillation. Sheepe (sayes *Nazianzen*) are not to be gouerned by rigour, but persuasion; all those impulsions of necessity and force, carry with them a shew of tyranny, and hold neither with Nature nor obseruation, — *Non secus ac planta per vim manibus inflexa*, — sayes the Father. Bend a Plant (and it is with most men as it is with plants) it turnes againe. There was neuer disposition, not cowardly and base, that violence could worke vpon. Ingenuity if it bee not alwaies voluntary, it may bee led sometimes, but neuer drawne; And therefore *Peter* feedes his flocke, not by constraint, but willingly, and (as your common *Bablers* neuer doe) *not for filthy Lucre, but a ready minde.* 1 *Pet.* 5. 2. And indeed it is this *filthy* — *Lucre* — hath occasioned so many *Bablers* in our Church, those that will say any thing for the inhauncement of their profit, the improuing of their Stipend; Brey at Vniuersities, for a morsell of bread; giues blowes against Learning, make scarres in the face of Knowledge, cry downe the vse of Arts, or what is curiously strung in secular Learnings, abandon them from the lips of the Preacher, and confine him only to a sacred dialect without intermixture of Prophane Knowledge, or sleeke of humane Eloquence; No marrow of the Father, no subtilty of the Schoole-man, no grauity of the Philosopher, no policie of the Historian; thereby depriuing the Church of varietie of Gifts, and manacling and pinning the Holy Ghost to a defect of all outward ornaments, as if that wind which bloweth where it list, were forbade to breathe any where but in their new-fangled and braine-sicke endeuours.

In Pie. pt. Apolog.

Idem ibid.

1 Pet. 5. 2.

Hence it is that the distribution of holy Mysteries growes

growes so to contempt, the dispencers of them entitled to termes of obloquie and scorne, exposed to the Paraphrase and Comment of the gieering aduersarie. Our *Athens* disparaged, Learning of no price and value, Preaching, *babling*, and the maine reason and inducement, why the whole body of Arts thus reeles and wauers. I haue at length met the *Babler* desired to grapple with, and we must exchange a few blowes ere we part, in which I shall bee home without much flourish. *Stoicke*, once more forbeare. Stand aloose till we haue past *this* Duell, then let thy censure fall, as the wounds doe, iustly. Suppose wee then a man harnessed and clad with all the glories and habiliments of Nature, besides the rich dowrie and treasure of Art and Knowledge, yet say I not that *this* man, without a supernaturall light from the Scripture, is able to vtter those Mysteries as he ought, either in their strength or decencie. Doubtlesse, the best of ours, either for depth of Knowledge, or sublimitie of Inuention, or accuratenesse of Composure, or cleannesse of Zeale, are comparatiuely meere *Bablings*, and fall many bowes short of those inspired ones of old; neither are they Gods word (sayes *Hooker*) in the same manner that the Sermons of the Prophets were, no they are ambiguously termed his Word, and are no more the same, than is the Discourse the Theame, or the Line the Rule, by which it is drawne; yet haue they a peculiaritie both of vertue and successe; strange prerogatiues ouer the sudden passions and affections of most men, whom they not leade onely, but entangle, and not fetter barely, but intraunce; in a word, they reigne ouer vs, and establish a violent empire and command ouer our verie soules. Diuinitie we confesse the Soueraigne Ladie and Queene of all Sciences, Arts (if you approue the stile) her Maids of Honour. Are we not sacrilegious then to the state of Soueraigntie when we rob it of her traine? The chiefest complement of Greatnesse is the retinue, take away her equi-

Lib. 5. Eccles. Polit.

Doct. *Cowels* Defence, in the Chapter of Preaching.

page you disnoble it. Barre sacred Learning of the attendance of that which is secular, Arts, Sciences, you disrobe it, strip it of its glory. Certaine truths in her cannot fully be discouered without some measure of knowledge in them all. The Axioms & principles of Humanity though they a little runne by those of Diuinity, yet they doe not thwart them, there may be difference, no contrariety, no not in those things which seeme to carry a shew of contrariety. Reason our Mistresse tels vs, *Verũ vero consonat*, & Truth stands diametrically opposed to Falshood, not to a second truth; for, *Vero nil verius*. Philosophicall truths challenge the same sowrce and pedigree Theologicall doe, the same fountaine, and Father, God, and are of the like Truth, though not of the like Authority.

Diuinity (saith *Basill*) is the fruit, Arts as the leaues, and leaues are not onely for ornament but succour.

Hence flowes that admirable consent and harmony between the naturall patefactions of God, and the supernaturall; for, from God is both Reason and Scripture, and Reason being obscured by Sinne, and blemished by her many errors, the Scripture doth vnscale, and beames againe, and so sets her free from her former obliquities and digressions, the light of Nature being dimmed (saith *Ambrose*) was to be cleared by the Law, the mists of the Law by the *Gospell*, so that Grace doth not abolish Nature, but perfect it, neither doth Nature reiect Grace (saith *Augustine*) but embrace it. Nay, my Authour (and I haue gleaned I confesse some few eares of Corne from his more plentifull crop) quotes *Tertullian* too very appositely, (and 'tis like *Tertullians* both for the marrow and the reach.) God first sent Nature to be our Schoolemistresse, being after to send Prophesie, that thou being first the Disciple of Nature, mightest afterwards the more easily be induced to beleeue Prophesie. We may not think then the *Ipse Dixit* of the *Philosopher*, or the weighty depositions of prophane Authors, to be meere *Chimaraes*, fruitlesse Fancies, *Bablings* of no consequence; though some of them were not true Visions, yet they were not all

Annand Polan. li. 2. Logic. fol. 213.

De Fuga sæculi. cap. 3.

Aug. in Ps. 101.

Theolog. Logic. pag. 200.

starke

starke Dreames, *Paul* then would neuer haue confuted the Idolaters of *Athens* with their owne Text, —*Some of your owne Poets haue said it*; There may be much Hay and Stubble amongst them, but there is some Gold, and precious Stones; try them, if they endure not the touch, throw them by as metals too course and drossie; but if there be rich Oare mixt with veines of earth, why not separated? Why not purged by the fire of Gods word? Why may not this stranger to *Israel*, her head shauen, & the haire of her eye-browes cut, be admitted into the Sanctuary? If one *Copernicus* be troubled with the Vertigo, and would haue the earth runne round as his head does, shall a whole Sect of *Aristotelians* be liable to a disease of giddinesse? Though a *Stoicke* or an *Epicure* oppose *Paul*, yet at *Athens* there were *Academickes*, and *Peripatetickes*, Philosophers too, without their tumult, and for ought the Text caueat's me to the contrary, they were his Conuerts too. And it is euident that the Apostles, and after them the Fathers, made Arts the chiefe weapons against the enemies of the Church, for as some opinions would be conuinced without humane Learning, so others affections would not be perswaded without that eloquence, thus they wounded the Heresies and Apostasies of their times, when the Reuolted *Iulian* was impelled to say; —*We are strucke thorow with our own Darts.* —All Science whatsoeuer is in the nature of good; and good is good, wheresoeuer I finde it. *Vpon a withered branch* (sayes *Augustine* to his Donatist) *a Grape sometimes may hang, shall I refuse the Grape because the stalke is withered?* If on a tempestuous shore I meet by chance a rich peece of Amber, or richer Pearle, amongst oare, and shels, and froth, and sands, shall I refuse either for the stench of the place or the companions? I haue seldome read of any thing but a foolish Cocke that refused Treasure, though on a dunghill. I know Heathens had their slime and mud, and some

Acts 17. 28.

Doct. *Cowell.*

August.

Gregor. Nazian.

August de Baptist. contra Donatist. lib. 6. cap. 2.

of their streames ran impurely, yet they had their Crystall fountaines too, especially the *Platonists*, of which wee might *draw* and *drinke*, and drinke our fill, and drinke as *our owne*, too, (*Augustine* sayes) they being in the tenure of vniust possessours. For as the *Israelites* (it is the Fathers similitude) tooke from the *Ægyptians* their Idols, and Rings, and Siluer, and Gold, and bestowed the same vpon the adorning of the Lords Tabernacle, which they had abused by pride and riot, to the beautifying of the Temples of their false Gods, and did this, —*Non auctoritate propriâ sed præcepto* (saies the Father) not by the instigation of their owne will, but by mandat, *sic Doctrinæ omnes Gentilium, non solum simulata & superstiosa figmenta, &c.* So all those Doctrines of the Gentiles (their superstitious fictions expunged and layd by) their liberall Disciplines and Precepts of manners (which were their Gold and Siluer) may be reduced to the vse of sacred Learning, & a Christian may challenge them — *Ad vsum iustum prædicandi Euangelij*, —they are the Fathers owne words. —Howeuer he puts in a caueat by the way, -2- *sed hoc modo instructus*, —the Diuine that is thus accommodated when hee shall addresse himselfe to the vse and search of these heathen treasures, —*Illud Apostolicum cogitare non cesset*, —*Scientia inflat, charitas edificat*, —in his *Lib. 2. de Doct. Christian. 40. Cap.* I neuer yet read that the true vse of secular Learning took from the glory of that which was Diuine, I haue, that it hath added, nor that any thing gleaned and picke, and culled with a cleane hand was dististiull vnto God, I haue that it was approued. I know there is a *Venomous eloquence* (as *Cyprian* wrote of that of *Nouatus*) and this perchance the *Babler* himselfe vses, when he leades silly Creatures captiue, but it is odious both to God and Man, and hath beene the maine Engine in all Ages by which *Schismes* and *Heresies* haue wrought. In those Sacrifices of old, *Leuitic. 4. 5.* You know whatsoeuer

August. lib. 2. de Doct. Christ. c. 40.

1 Cor. 8.

Epist. ad Cornel.

was

was vncleane, *was an abomination vnto the Lord*; the Offering it selfe must be without blemish, the Altar seuen dayes cleansed before it was layd on, the Priest too washed before the Congregation, ere he dared to immolate; and why not so in this Holocaust and Sacrifice of the lips? Why not the Offering without blemish, the Alear cleansed, the Priest so in his Discourse too, that what is kindled here may burne as a sweet Incense vnto the Lord? smels that are vnlauourie neuer touch his nostrils; sounds harsh and iarring, neuer his eares; and therefore the Bels of *Aaron* were of pure gold,—*Ne subaratum aliquod tinniat in Sacerdotio*,—saith *Gregorie*. *Greg. Nazian. Apolog.*

It is a sullennesse, or rather policie, most in our age haue got, that what is in a way of eminence and perfection, they censure as a peece of affectation or curiositie, when (God knowes) it is but to colour some sinister pretence, and for a fairer varnish of their owne weaknesses. You know the storie of the Painter and the Cocke, and the Boy that kept the line ones from his shop, lest comming too nigh, the vnskilfulnesse of that hand should bee discouered, which had drawne the other at so rude a posture.

There is a malicious ignorance possesseth many, by which they vnder-value all things aboue their spheare, and cry downe that industrie or Art in others, which is beyond the verge and fathome of their owne abilities. But why should Moles repine that others see? Or Cripples murmure that others halt not? *Tolle quod tuum est & vade*. Yet loe how euen those last and gasping times keepe vp with the manner of those of old, both in their spleene and weaknesse. There bee (saith the Father to his *Marcellinus*) that account incivilitie of Manners, and rudenesse of Speech, true Holinesse, and with such, —*Quis non Vicus abundat?* Would I could not say, —*Quis Academia?* These Cynickes are in euerie Tub, these *Stoickes* here at *Athens*. But why should the talke *Hieron. ad Colphurnium.* *Hieronymus.*

Eccles. 21. 15. of such be a burthen in our way? Learning vnto a wiseman is as an ornament of Gold, and like a bracelet on his Arme, but Fetters about the feet, and Manacles about the hands; of whom? of him that (but now) was the burthen in the way, the *Foole*, whom lest wee should leaue without his companion, *Syracides* brings home to the gates of the *Babler*, and I will leaue him there, —*As a house that is destroyed, so is Learning to a Foole*, and *his Knowledge is but talke without sense*, Eccluſ. 21. 18. the taile of the Verse carrieth the sting; for much of our *Bablers* knowledge is little better than —*Sermo sine sensu*, Words without Salt, Speech without Ballace. And yet (good Lord) how these Lamps burne in our Tabernacles, these Bells sound in our Sanctuary? They are the thunderbolts of our Congregations, the Horspurres of our Pulpits. Against the sinnes of the time they clacke loud, and often, but it is like Mills driuen by a hasty torrent, which grinde much, but not cleane; And indeed it is not much they grinde neither, in substance, but in shew, neither is the labour so superlatiue, as the noise. Some that haue been conuersant in the trade, say, that Corne that is cleane and massie, will lye long in the wombe and body of the Mill, and requires all the industry of stone and water, and will not be deliuered without some time and trauaile, when graines which are mixt and course, run thorow with lesse difficulty, and more tumult. The *Babler* will apply. Thus wee see empty vessels sound much, and shallow streames run swift and loud, but on barren grounds, when those deeper ones glide slowly, as with more gravity so more silence, yet on fat soules, and so the neighbouring Fields grow fertile with their abundance. If all truth of Religion reigned in the Tongue, and the subduing of our manifold rebellions in the mortification of the Looke, there were no sanctitie but here. —But the heat of this mans zeale is like that of Glasse, which will be blowne

Eccluſ. 21. 21.

Eccluſ. 21. 18.

into

into any forme according to the fancie of him that blowes it, sometimes into that of a Serpent, sometimes of a Doue, but more often of a Serpent, than of a Doue, not for the wisdome of it, but the venome. Euerie word is a sting against the Church, her Discipline, truth of Gouernment, Hee *babbles* shrewdly against each Institution of it, State, Ceremonies, makes them adulterate, the dresses of the Great Whore, and sets all without the walls of Reformation, which wheele and roll not with the giddinesse of his tenents. The Golden-mouthed *Homilist*, in his fourth vpon the *Acts*, speaking of that miraculous way of the Holy Ghosts descent vpon the Apostles in the day of *Pentecost*, obserues nimbly, thus; —There came a sound from Heauen, —*As it were*— of a rushing and mightie wind, and there appeared to them Clouen Tongues, —*As it were*— of Fire, —*Recte vbique additum est*, —*Velut*— *nequid sensibile de Spiritu suspicareris*, — sayes the Father. —And indeed, in those phanaticke Spirits, though the Tongue bee fierie, and the voice as the Winds, rushing; yet in themselues there is nothing sensible; For as those which appeared to the Apostles, were but —*Velut igneæ*, — and *Velut flatus*, — so this orall vehtmencie is but —*Velut Zelus*, and *Velut Indignatio*, — False fire, or at best, but some hot exhalation in the braine set on fire by continuall motion and agitation of the Tongue, and there it burnes sometimes to the madnesse of the Professour, most times, of the Disciple. Againe, these Tongues are said to *sit* vpon the Apostles, —*Sedenti verbum stabilitatem ac mansionem denotat*, the same Father—sitting presupposes *Stabilitie* and *Mansion*, but most of these haue neither, either in their opinion, or course of life, but as the contribution ebbes or flowes; so they hoyse, or strike saile, either way, sometimes for the wide Maine, sometimes for the next Harbour. Againe, the Apostles are said

Chrysost.

Chrysost Homil. 4. in Act.

said there, to be *filled* with the *Holy Ghost*. —*Recte repleti, non enim vulgariter acceperunt gratiam Spiritus, sed eousque vt implerentur*, the Father still. —Where the Spirit powres out, it leaues no part emptie, it doth fill, fill vp euen to the brim, giues power of speaking roundly and fully: where it doth giue power, —no Rheumaticke Enthusiasmes, no languishing eiaculations, but such as the Spirit indeed haue dictated, such as flow from lips immediately touched with the true Cherubin, and a Tongue swolne with inspiration. Againe, the Tongues which sate vpon the Apostles were *clouen Tongues*, other tongues, *vers.* 4. and S. *Marke* cals them *new Tongues*. They were not confined then to a single dialect, to *babling* meerely in our Mother-tongue, but the Text sayes they had diuers Tongues, of the *Parthian*, and *Mede*, and *Elamite*, *Phrygian* and *Pamphilian*, and of those of *Lybia* which is beside *Cyrene*; and in those (and other Tongues too) they *spake the wonderfull workes of God*, Acts 2. 11. Lastly, this Vision they saw when they were in the Temple, not in a Cloyster, a Barne, a Wood, a Conuenticle, and they were in the Temple with one accord too, with one Office, one Spirit, one Minde, one Faith; not here a *Separatist*, there a *Brownist*, yonder a *Familist*, neere him an *Anabaptist*, but as their Faith was one, so was their life, and (if brought to the test) their death too. That was not *Religion* with them which was diuided, nor that *not vnitie of opinion*, which they would not burne for. Some *Heathens* haue shewed such resolution and truth, euen in their *false Religion*; such were those —*Arvales Sacerdotes*— of old amongst the *Romanes*, the *Soldurii* amongst the *Aquitans*; the *Ægyptians* also had their *vrnæ sororiæ*, so called, because promiscuously enioying each others benefits, as in one *Religion*, so in one Loue they would die together; such were the *Hunnes*, *Hyberi*, *Cantabri*, and others, which were ioynt-sharers of each others miseries and fortunes; and if one

Vide Gerrua Notes in 2. chap. Acts.

Plin. li. 18 cap. 2.

Cæsar lib. 3. Galli.

Alex. ab Alex. lib. 1. cap. 26. & cap. 12. lib. 3.

one by disaster or disease met with Calamitie or Fate, the other sought it.—

—— *Placidamque petunt per vulnera mortem.*

If in matters therefore, as well morall as diuine, there was such reciprocation of old; and not onely in *Religions* which were tainted, and smelt not of the true God, but in that too which hath beene touched and influenced by the *Spirit of the Almightie*, there was such punctuall correspondence then, why such combustion now? Why those daily scarres and wounds, both by the Tongue and Pen? Why so much gall in our Pulpit, such wormewood at the Presse? Why those *Ciuill warres* in our owne tenents? Such stabbings in particular opinions? Such heart-burnings in our *Brethren*? to the great disquiet of our Mother Church, and her Sonne they so labour to disinherit, the *Protestant*, the wounded *Protestant*, who hath beene now so long crucified betweene the —*Non-Conformist* and the *Romanist*, that at length hee is inforced to flie to *Cæsar* for sanctuarie, and in the verie rescue and *Appeale*, like the poore man betweene *Ierusalem* and *Iericho*, *hee falls into the hands of Theeues*, two desperate cut-throats and enemies to the Truth and Him, the *Pelagian* and the *Arminian*. But no more (Beloued) of those daggers and stilletroes to our owne brests by the crueltie of our owne *Tribe*; Know, dissention is the verie gate of ruine, and the breach at which destruction enters. Ciuill warres are as dangerous in matters of *Religion* as *State*, and proue the Earth-quakes both of Church and Common-wealth. The storie of the *Romanes sticks* is both old and trodden, but verie pertinent; *In the Bundle they neuer felt iniurie of hand, one by one were the conquest of a finger*; and *Tacitus* speakes of *Apronius* Souldiers,—*Satis validi si simul, &c.* as long as they marched

 in

in their combined rankes they stood aloofe all danger, but, these diuided, they grew the prey and slaughter of the Aduersarie; and thus —*Dum singuli pugnant, vniuersi vincuntur.* A mutiny or rent in an Army *is the Souldiers passing-bell,* Death followes, or despaire of victory, when those which are knit vp in one heart of courage & affection, trample on distrust as if they had already worne the palme and glory of their triumph. And it speeds no better in a diuided Church, where *Scismes* and *Factions* like so many *rents* and *breaches,* haue hewed-out a way to her ouerthrow and ruine. No more *struglings* then by vnnaturall *twinnes* in the *wombe* of our *Rebecca.* No more warre in her members, no more *Bablings* in their tongue, no more venome in their Pen, to the great aduantage of the *Adversary,* whose artillery is ready, his bow bent, the arrow on the string, and malice leuelling at the very bosome of the *Church,* (I pray God, not of the *State* too) and waits only opportunity to loosen it. But

Ephes. 4. 2, 3, 4 5, 6. *let vs with all humblenesse of minde, meeknesse, long-suffering, (supporting one another through loue) endeauour to keepe the vnity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, knowing there is one Body, one Spirit, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme, one God and Father of all, who is aboue all, through all, and in you all.*

And now *Paul* hath beene at *Athens,* past his bickerings with the *Epicure,* and the *Stoicke,* had their censure, —*He is a Babler;* —He is now rigged for *Corinth,* and

Acts 19. 1. by this time arriued there, where I leaue him—*In earnest disputation with the Grecians in the Synagogue.* The *Stoick* is returned to his *Porch* too, the *Epicure* to his *Garden.* But here is an *Athens* too, though no *Paul,* or at least no such *Paul;* and yonder sits a *Stoicke,* and he whispers to his *Epicure,—What will this Babler say?* He saies—*Glory to God on high, in Earth peace, good-will towards men.* He sayes, hearty and true Allegiance to his Soueraigne, —wishes the budding and continuance of a temporall

Crowne

Crowne here, and the assurance of an immortal one hereafter. —Hee sayes, flourishing to his Church, his Common-wealth, his People; swift and fierce destruction to his Enemies foraine, and (if he haue any such) domesticke. —He sayes, courage to his Nobility, vnity to his Clergy, loue to his Gentry, loialty to his Commonalty. In fine, He sayes prosperity to *Athens* (here) vnanimitie, true brotherhood, happie successe to your studies, to your designes; and *the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ to you all, and with you all*, Amen.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

FINIS.

IACOB and ESAV:

Election. *Reprobation.*

OPENED AND DISCVSSED BY WAY OF SERMON AT PAVLS CROSSE,

March 4. 1622.

By

Humphry Sydenham, M^r of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

August. lib. 7. de Trinitate.

Qui videt hæc, vel ex parte, vel per speculum in ænigmate, gaudeat cognoscens Deum, & gratias agat; qui verò non, tendat per pietatem fidei ad videndum, & non per cæcitatem ad calumniandum.

LONDON,

Printed for IOHN PARKER.

1627.

TO MY MOST HONOVR'D FRIEND *William Brouncker* Esquire, This.

SIR:

Here I owe a iust seruice, and would publish it, I lesse feare the censure of vain-glorie, than of vnthankfulnesse; you know the age is both tart and nimble, in her Paraphrase on those which would be Men in Print; *I haue found it; yet will rather hazard the imputation of a weake man, than an vngratefull. Howeuer, I desire not so much to expose my* labours *to the world, as my* loyaltie, *that others might*

might take notice how much you haue beene mine in your cherishing of those, *and how I am euer yours in my expressions of* this. *Hee that doth but* tacitely *acknowledge the bounties of a* noble *friend, in a manner buries them, when he that proclaimes them, hath in a part requited; he hath repayed his honour, and therefore him, and so hath satisfied, though not restored. If this publike thankfulnesse of mine, for those daily fauours, shall meet with so mercifull an interpretation of yours, I esteeme not any rigid one of the times; I cannot gloze with them, nor you, yet shall endeuour to be reputed one of those who vnfainedly honours you, and will doe, whilst I weare the name and title of.*

Your euer friend and seruant,

HVM: SYDENHAM.

IACOB *and* ESAV.

ROM. 9.18.

He will haue mercy on whom he will haue mercy; and whom he will, he hardeneth.

THe Text holds some Analogie with the Times we liue in, fraught with no lesse subtilty, than danger; and as an vndiscreeter prouidence is soone oreshot in those, so in this too. We are not here then to cheat our Auditory with a thin discourse; Mysterie is our Theame and Subiect, the very Battlement and Pinacle of Diuinity, which he that too boldly climbes, falls headlong into errour. A taske, though perchance disproportionable to youthfull vndertakings, and may from such challenge the censure of a vaine-glorious enterprise: yet giue me leaue to returne, though not satisfaction, answer. In sacred Riddles what wee cannot resolue, giue vs leaue to contemplate; and what not comprehend, admire: where our pencill failes vs to limme in so curious a Portraiture, weele play *Timanthes*, and shadow with a vaile; and when our reason is once *non-plus't*, we are hush't in a contented wonder.

Where we may behold the Almightie (in a full shower) powring down his blessings vpon some, scarce dewing or sprinkling them on others; softning this Wax, and hardning that Clay, with one and the selfe same sunne, (his will) and yet that will not clouded with iniustice. Here is that will not onely stagger, but entrance a carnall apprehension; Not a circumstance which is not equally loaded with doubt and amazement, and whose discussing will no lesse inuite than command attention. That which in common passages of Diuinitie doth but transport our thought, in these more mysticall will captiuate: Euerie word is knottie, and full of brambles, and requires the hand of an exact industrie.

It behoues vs then to be warie of our choyce, how either we traffique here with corrupt antiquity (where but to taste were to surfet) or with that moderne Nauie of Expositors, where mixture of opinion will rather cloy than feed, and confound than informe our vnderstanding. I desire not to paraphrase on a reuerend errour, nor to chastise there where I beg information. I shall only request gray haires thus farre to dispence with me, that where their Candle burnes dimly and vncertainly, I may borrow light of a more glorious flame. Not then to beguile time and so noble an attention with quaintnesse of preamble, or diuision: The parts here are, as the persons, and their condition, Two, *Mercie* for whom he will, and they are Sheepe; *Hardening* for whom he will, and these are Goats. Let vs first put them on the right hand, and we shall finde a *Venite Benedicti, Come ye blessed*, here is mercie for you; After, these on the left hand, and we shall meet with an *Ite maledicti, Goe ye cursed*, here is hardening for you: Both which, when we haue in a carefull separation orderly distinguished, wee shall make here the will of the Almightie as free from iniustice, as there his censure, *He will haue mercie on whom he will, &c.*

PART. I.

He will.

THat the will of God is the principall efficient cause of all those workes which he doth externally from himselfe, so that there is no superiour or precedent cause mouing and impelling it, shines to vs no lesse from the eternity of his will, than the omnipotency; for with that double attribute *Augustine* doth inuest it in his 2. booke *contra Manichæos, cap.* 2. And seeing there is nothing before his will, as being eternall; nothing greater, as being omnipotent; we inferre with that learned Father, that *Neque extra, vel vltra illam causa inquirenda*; There is no cause either without, or beyond it, that being the source and fountaine of all causes, as by a more particular survey of Gods workes we shall discusse hereafter. For illustration. In his eternall decree, why are some marked out as inheritours of his Sion? others againe expulsed, and banished those blessed Territories? they as vessels of mercy, for the manifestation of his goodnesse; these of furie, for the promulgation of his iustice? Doubtlesse the wil, & the *bene-placitũ* of the Almighty as the primary & immediate cause, whereof if there be any more subordinate, they haue all alliance and dependancy on it, *Tanquam à principali intentione primi agentis*. Like inferiour Orbes which haue their influence & motion from a higher mouer. I need not trauaile far either for proofe or instance; our Chapter is bountifull in both. What was the cause that God did chuse *Iacob* and reiect *Esau*? The mediate and secondary cause, was, because he loued *Iacob*, and not *Esau*. But why is his loue incommunicable, and as it seemes in a partiall reseruation, peculiar to that more than this? I know not a more plausible and higher motiue than his will. *Insistendum ergo in particulis.*

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culas, cuius vult, & quem vult. Our enquiry here must be cautelous, and slow of foot, lest wee run violently into errour. Here is a *cuius vult* onely for him that hee hath mercy on, and but a *quem vult* for him he hardens; *vltra quas procedere non licet*, saith *Calvin*. Here is the vtmost Verge & Pillar where reason durst to coast; what is beyond is either vnknowne, or dangerous; how euer some vain-glorious braines (ambitious of mysterious and abstruser knowledge) haue inscribed here their *Multi pertransibunt, & augebitur scientia.* But in so stickle & dangerous a torrent, how are they o'rewhelmed at last? and whilst they so ventrously climbe this steeper turret, throwne desperately into heresie? For mine owne part, I haue euer thought curiosity in diuine affaires but a quaint distraction, rather applauding an humble (yet faithfull) ignorance, than a proud and temerarious knowledge. And had some of the Fathers beene shot-free of this curious insolence, they needed not haue retreated from former Tenents, & so much indeared posterity, no lesse in the review than retractation of laborious errors: Amongst whom *S. Augustine* (though since entituled *Malleus Hæreticorum*) shared not a little in the 83. of his Questions, and 68. Where expounding our place of the Apostle, would thus vindicate the Almighty from iniustice; that God foresaw that in some, *Quo digni sunt iustificatione*; that in others, *Quo digni sunt obtusione*; so making Gods will to depend on a foreseene merit. A position that doth not onely repugne the discipline of holy story, but thwarts the maine tide and current of orthodox antiquity, as in a fuller discourse we shall display anon: and therefore in his 7. Booke *de Predestinatione Sanctorũ, cap.* 4. he doth chastise his former tenents with a *Deus non elegit opera, sed fidem in prescientiâ*; That God did not elect *Iacob* for foreseene workes, but faith. But because in faith there is as well a merit, as in workes, hee once more rectifies his opinion in the first of his Retractations,

stations, and 23, where he doth peach his sometimes ignorance, and ingeniously declares himselfe, that—*Nondum diligentius quæsiuit, nec inuenit mysteria*, he had not yet throughly sifted that of the Apostle, *Rom.* 11.5. That there was a *remnant according to the election of grace*, which, if it did flow from a foreseene merit, was rather restored than giuen, and therefore (at last) he informes his owne iudgement, and his Reader, thus; *Datur quidem fidelis, sed data est etiam prius vt esset fidelis*; Grace is giuen to the faithfull, but it is first giuen that he should be faithfull. Hence *Lumbard* in his 1. booke, 41. distinction, pathetically, *Elegit quos voluit Deus gratuitâ misericordiâ, non quia fideles futuri erant, sed vt essent, nec quia crediderant, sed vt fierent credentes.* God out of the prerogatiue of his will, and bounty of his goodnesse, hath chosen whom he pleased, not because they were faithfull, but because they should be, and not of themselues beleeuing, but made so. And therefore, that *Vi sum fidelis*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 25. beares a remarkable emphasis; *I haue obtained mercie that I might be faithfull*, not that I was. Here the Pelagian starties, and sarely backt with a troope of Arminians, takes head against this truth, fancying and dreaming of certain causes without God, which are not subsisting in God himselfe, but externally moueing the will of God to dispose and determine of seuerall events, laying this as an vnshaken principle, *Fidem esse conditionem in obiecto eligibili ante electionem*; That faith and obedience (foreseene of God in the Elect) was the necessary condition and cause of their election. I intend not here a pitchfield against the vpstart Sectarie, for I shall meet him anon in a single combat: my purpose now is to be but as a scout, or spie, which discouers the weaknesse of his aduersary, not stands to encounter. And indeed both the time and place suggest me rather to resolue, than debate; and conuince, than dispute an errour. That faith then, or any præexisting merit in the person to be elected, was

the cause of his election, is neither warrantable by reason nor primitiue Authority. For God could not foresee in the elect any faith at all, but that which in after times he was to crowne them with, and therefore not considerable as any precedent cause of election, but as the effect and fruit, and consequent thereof.

The primary and chiefe motiue then is that *εὐδοκία*, *Ephes.* 1. 5. the good pleasure of Gods will, which, prompted of it selfe, without any reference to præexisting faith, obedience, merit, as the quality, cause, or condition of it, hath powred grace on this man more than that; *Non solum in Christo, sed per Christum.* And therefore (as that late venerable Synode hath awarded it) *Non ex illis conditionibus facta est, sed ad illas*; That election was not fram'd of these conditions, but to them, as to their effect and issue. And if we commerce a little with passages of holy story, we shall finde that our election points rather to the free will of God in his eternall councell, than to any goodnesse in vs which God foresaw: so *Acts* 13. 48. where we reade of the Gentiles, that many *beleeued* because they were *ordained* to eternall life, & not therefore *ordained* because they formerly *beleeued*. And if wee will not suffer our mindes to be transported either with sc uple or nouelty, the text is open, *Ephes.* 1. 4. *He hath chosen vs before the foundations of the world were laid, that we might be holy, not that we were.* And in this very Chapter, *verse* 23. The vessels of mercy are first said to be *prepared* to mercy, then *called*: and therefore Saint *Austin* in his 86. Tract hereupon, out of a holy indignation, doth check the insolence of those, *Qui præscientiam Dei defendunt contra gratiam Dei*; Which in matters of saluation, obscure and extenuate the grace of God with the foreknowledge of God: for if God did therefore chuse vs, because hee did know, and foresee that wee would be good, hee did not chuse vs to make vs good, but wee rather chose him, in purposing to be good, which

Syn. d. Dort.

which if it did carrie any shew either of probabilitie, or truth, we might question our Apostle, who in his 8. here, and 29 no lesse perswades than proues, that those which God foreknew hee did predestinate to bee *conform'd* to the image of his sonne, and therefore God did not chuse vs, because before election there was a *conformitie* in vs, but because from all eternitie hee did elect vs, in time hee made vs *conform'd* to the image of his Sonne. Whereupon St. *Augustine* in his fifth booke *contra Iulianum*, 3. *chapt.* thus, *Nullum elegit dignum, sed eligendo effecit dignum.* God in the choice of his Elect, found none worthy, but in the chusing made them worthy. Moreouer, our election, which is of grace (as I yonder proued) could not stand if workes and merits went before it. *Hec quippè non inuenit merita, sed facit*; Grace doth not finde workes in vs, but fashions them, according to that of the Apostle, 2 *Thes.* 2. 13. *God hath from the beginning chosen you through sanctification of the spirit, and not of works.* Nay, some here so much abolish and wipe off all claime of merit, that they admit not Christ as the *meritorious* cause of our election. Indeed, say they, the Scripture is thus farre our Schoolemaster, That we are *iustified* by the bloud of Christ, and *reconciled* to God by the death of his Sonne: but where are we informed that wee are *elected* through his bloud, or *predestinated* by his death? Indeed, in the 3. of *Iohn* 16. we finde a—*sic Deus dilexit*,—*God so loued the world that he gaue his Sonne.* So that, not because Christ died for vs, God loued, and chose vs, but because God loued and chose vs, therefore Christ died for vs. For so *Rom.* 5. 8. *God setteth out his loue towards vs, that whilst we were yet sinners, Christ died for vs.* In matters therefore of election, wee acknowledge not a cause more classicke than the *Cuius vult* here specified, *He will haue mercie on whom hee will.* In so much, that in the parable of the housholder, *Matth.* 20. I finde but a *sic volo*, as a sufficient

Synod Dort.

ent and iust cause of his designes. I will giue to this last as much as to thee; & yet this Will so clothed with a diuine iustice, that God is not said to will a thing to be done, because it is good, but rather to make it good, because God would haue it to be done. For proofe whereof, a sweet singer of our Israel instances in those wonderfull passages of creation, where 'tis first said that *Deus creauit*, God created all things, and the *Valde bonum* comes aloofe, he saw that they were all good, and the morall portends but this, That euery thing is therefore good, because it was created, and not therefore created because it was good; which doth wash, and purge the will of the Almighty from any staine, or tincture of iniustice; for though that be the chiefe mouer and director of all his proiects, as the prime and peremptory cause, doing this, because he will, yet we finde not onely *sanctitatem in operibus*, but *iustitiam in viis*. *The Lord is righteous in all his wayes, and holy in all his workes.* Hereupon that great treasurer of Learning and Religion, *Zanchius* in his 3. booke *de Natura Dei*, and 4. chapter, diuides betweene the *cause* of Gods will, and the *reason* of his will: That though there be no superiour cause of it, yet there is a iust reason, and a right end and purpose in it. Hence *S. Ierome*, *Deus nihil fecit quia vult, sed quia est ratio sic fieri*; God doth nothing *because he will*, but because there is a *reason* of so doing, in regard whereof it is not simply called θέλημα, the will of God, but εὐδοκία, the good will of God, *Ephes.* 1.11. So that in his sacred resolutions and designements, though wee meet (sometimes) with passages, wound vp in darkened terrour, the cause whereof wee may admire, not scan; yet the drift and maine ends of the Almighty haue been so backt with strength of a iust reason, that we may rather magnifie his goodnesse than tax his power; and applaud the calmnesse of an indulgent mercie, than repine at the lashes of an incensed iustice. Equitie and goodnesse are children of one burden, both the

Morl. Clean. Lep.

the lawfull issue of his will, which through foule mouthes of libertines haue strangely bastardized, making that the throne of tyranny, which is the rule of iustice, yet let them know that of *Augustine* to his *Sixtus*; *Iniustum esse non potest, quod placuit Iusto.* To be God, and to be vniust, is to be God and not God. So faire a goodnesse, was neuer capable of so foule a contradiction, and therefore (as the same Father prosecutes) *Iniquitatem damnare nouit, non facere:* God knows how to iudge, not to commit a crime, and to dispose, not mould it, and is often the father of the punishment, not the fact. Hence 'tis, that the dimnesse of humane apprehension conceiues that (oftentimes) a delinquency in God, which is the monster of our own frailty; making God not onely to foreknow, but predestinate an euill, when the euill is both by growth, and conception ours, and if ought sauour of goodnesse in vs, Gods, not ours, yet ours too, as deriuatiue from God, who is no lesse the Patron of all goodnesse, than the Creatour, and 'tis as truly impossible for him to commit euill, as 'twas truly miraculous to make all that hee had made good. And therefore *Tertullian*, in his first booke *de Trinitate*, makes it a *Non potest fieri*, a matter beyond the list and reach of possibility, that he should be *Artifex mali operis*, the promoter and enginer of a depraued act, who challengeth to himselfe the title no lesse of an vnblemished Father, than of a Iudge. Our thoughts then should not carry too lofty a saile, but take heed how they cut the narrow straights, and passages of his will. A busie prying into this Arke of secrets, as 'tis accompanied with a full blowne insolence, so with danger; Humility (here) is the first staire to safety; and a modest knowledge stands constantly wondering, whilst the proud apprehension staggers, and tumbles too. Here's a Sea vnnauigable, and a gulfe so scorning fathom, that our Apostle himselfe was driuen to his *ὦ βάθος*, *O depth*, and in a rapture, more of astonishment, than contemplation, he stiles it, ὦ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνα-

τῷ αὐτοῦ βουλήματος ἡμῶν μυστήριον, or (as *Beza* translates it) *Sacramentum*, the Sacrament, and mysterie of his will, being so full of vnknowne turnings, and Meanders, that if a naked reason hold the clue, we are rather inuolued, than guided in so strange a Labyrinth.

To enquire then the cause of Gods will, were an Act of *Lunacie*, not of *Iudgement*; for euery efficient cause is greater than the effect, now there's nothing greater than the will of God, and therefore no cause thereof. For if there were, there should something præoccupate that will, which to conceiue were sinfull, to beleeue blasphemous. If any then (suggested by a vaine-glorious enquirie) should aske why God did elect this man, and not that? we haue not onely to resolue, but to forestall so beaten an obiection: Because hee would. But why would God doe it? Here's a question as guilty of reproofe, as the author, who seekes a cause of that, beyond, or without which there is no cause found, where the apprehension wheeles, and reason runs giddy in a doubtfull gire: *Compescat se ergo humana temeritas, & id quod non est non quærat, ne id quod est non inueniat.* Here a scrupulous and humane rasinesse should be husht, and not search for that which is not, lest it finde not that which is. For as the same Father, in his 105. *Epist.* *Cur illum potiùs, quàm illum, liberet, aut non, scrutetur (qui potest) iudiciorum eius tam magnum profundum, sed caueat præcipitium*—. Let him that can, descry the wonders of the Lord in this great deep, but let him take heed he sinke not; and in his answer to the second question of *Simplician*: *Quare huic ita, & huic non ita, homo tu quis es qui respondeas Deo? & cur isti sic, illi aliter? Absit vt dicamus Iudicium luti esse, sed figuli.* Why God doth to this man so, and to that not so, who dare expostulate? and why to this man, thus, to that, otherwise? far re be it, that we should thinke it in the iudgement of the clay, but of the potter. Downe then with this aspiring thought, this ambitious desire of hid-

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den knowledge, and make not curiositie the picklocke of diuine secrets; know that such mysteries are doubly barred vp in the coffers of the Almighty, which thou maist striue to violate, not open. And therefore if thou wilt needs trespasse vpon deity, dig not in its bosome; a more humble aduenture sutes better with the condition of a worme, scarce a man, or if so, exposed to frailtie.

Tis a fit taske and imployment for mortalitie, to contemplate Gods workes, not sift his mysteries, and admire his goodnesse, not blurre his iustice; And it hath beene euer the practice of primitiue discipline, rather to defend a disparaged equitie, than to question it, for so that reuerend Father (who euer mixt his learning with a deuout awe) in his 3 booke, *cont. Iulianum*, and 18 *chapter*, *Bonus est Deus, iustus est Deus, potest aliquos sine bonis meritis liberare, quia bonus est, non potest quemquam sine malis damnare, quia iustus est.* God is equally good and iust, he can saue some without reference to desert, because he is good, he cannot damne any man without a due demerit, because he is iust: Nay had God deliuered all mankinde into the iawes of destruction, we could not touch him with iniustice, but rather admire so darke and inuestigable an equitie, which we may illustrate by worldly passages, and humane contracts. If I were bankrupt of instance, S. *Augustine* could relieue me. A great man (saith he) lends two summes of money, to two seuerall men, who can tax him of obduratenesse, or iniustice, if at time of repayment he forgiue this man his debt, and require satisfaction of that? for this lies not in the will and disposall of the debtor, but of the creditor. So stands the case betweene frailty and omnipotencie. All men (which through *Adam* become tributaries to sin and death) are one masse of corruption, subiect to the stroake of diuine iustice, which, whether it be required or giuen, there is no iniquitie in God, but of whom required, and to whom giuen, 'tis in such debtors insolence to iudge,

lest God returne their saucinesse with a —*Non licet mihi quod volo facere?* as the housholder did the murmuring labourers in his vineyard. Is thine eie euill, because I am good? And indeed I display not a higher cause of election and reprobation than diuine goodnesse, which that learned Schoole-man, *Part. 1. quest. 23. art. 5.* doth not onely illustrate, but proue no lesse by similitude than argument. For God (saith he) made all things for his goodnesse sake, that in things by him made, his goodnesse might appeare, but because that goodnesse is in it selfe, one, and simple; and things created cannot attaine to so diuine a perfection, it was necessary that that goodnesse should be diuersly represented in those things, and hence 'tis that to the complement and full glory of the vniuerse, there is in them a diuersitie of degrees required, of which some possesse a lower, and some a higher roome; and that such a multiformitie may be preserued in nature, God permits some euils to be done, lest much good should be anticipated: —*Voluit itaque Deus in hominibus, quantum ad aliquos, quos prædestinet, suam repræsentare bonitatem, per modum misericordiæ, parcendo illis, quantum vero ad alios, quos reprobet, suam ostendi bonitatem per modum iustitiæ, puniendo eos.* God in those hee elects, would shew his goodnesse by way of mercie in sparing these, in others he reprobates, his goodnesse too, by way of iustice in punishing them. And therefore our Apostle here not onely magnifies the riches of his glory vpon vessels of mercie, *vers.* 23. but his long patience too, to vessels of wrath, *vers.* 22. So that in his house there are not onely those of gold and siluer, but of wood and earth too, *and some to honor, some to dishonor*, 2 *Tim.* 2. 20. Of wch if any mutinous or saucy ignorance desires a reason beyond Gods will, I haue no answer but that of *Augustine*, in his 22. Sermon *de verb. Apost. Tu rationcinare, ego miror, tu disputa, ego credam: altitudinem video, ad profundum non peruenio*, Dispute and reason he that durst,

while

while my thought and beleefe stand at a bay, and wonder; I see there is a height, but cannot reach it, and know this gulfe, not sathome it. For as in things naturall (it is *Aquinas* similitude) when all the first matter is vniforme, why one part of it should be vnder the forme of fire, another vnder the forme of earth, there may be a reason assigned, that there might be a diuersity of *species* in things naturall: but why this part of matter should be rather vnder the forme of fire, and that vnder the forme of earth, depends only on the simplicity of Gods will; & as it hangs too on the wil of the Architect, that this stone should be rather in this part of the wall, and that in another, although reason and art require that other stones should be in one part of the Edifice, & others in another. Neither is there for this iniquity in God, that he doth not proportion his gifts in a strict equality, for it were against the reason and truth of iustice, if the effect of Predestination should be of debt, and not of grace; for in those things which are of an vnrestrained freedome, euery man (out of the iurisdiction of his owne will) may giue to whom he will, more or lesse, without the least disparagement of iustice: And therefore to those recoiling dispositions, wch murter at a free bounty heaped on others, without reference to desert, I will vsurpe that of the Parable, *Tolle quod tuum est, & vade.* And yet notwithstanding though the will of God be the independent prime cause of all things, so that beyond it there is no other cause, and without it there is no reason of Gods actions; yet it is not the sole and particular cause, for there are many secondary concurring with the first, by the mediation whereof the will of God brings his intendiments to an issue. As in matters of our saluation the will and working of man shakes hands with that of God, for though without him we finde a *Nil potestis facere, Iob.* 15. 5. Ye can doe nothing; yet assisted by his will, and the powerfull and effectuall operations of his grace, our will co-

operates with Gods. Else how could *Dauid* pray to him to be his helper, vnlesse he himselfe did endeuour something? or how could God command vs to doe his will, except the will of man did worke in the performance of it? It is true (saith *S. Augustine*) we finde a *Deus operatur omnia in omnibus*, but we no where finde a *Deus credit omnia in omnibus*. *Nostrum itaque est credere, & velle, illius autem dare credentibus, & volentibus facultatem operandi*: To will, and to beleeue is ours, but to giue the faculty of operation to them that will & beleeue, is Gods. *I haue laboured more than they all, yet not I, but the grace of God with me*, 1. *Cor.* 15. 10. Why God therefore doth saue some men, there is more to be alleaged than this, God would haue them to be saued; for if this laurell doe beautifie our triumph we must encounter, hee that will haue this Crowne must tug for it, and this prize, must wrestle, *Qui creauit te sine te, non saluat te sine te*. He that hath created thee without thy selfe, will not saue thee without thy selfe. And therefore those whom God from all eternity hath destined to saluation, hee hath in a like priuiledge destined to the meanes: But why those meanes, not communicable to all, many a busie endeuour hath strugled for a reason, not compast it. Out of more than a double Iurie of Interpreters, which I haue (not with a little distraction) obserued, waiuing here in doubtfull opinion, *Hugo de Sancto Victore* giues thus his verdict. Gods grace is indifferently exhibited to all men, to the elect and reprobate, but all doe not equally lay hold on it. Some no lesse neglect, than repulse Gods grace, and when its comfortable beames shall shine vpon them, they shut their eies against it, and will not behold it, and God in iustice with-drawes his grace from these men because they with-draw themselues from his grace. *Est enim in gratia quemadmodum in solis radio* (saith he) There is a proportion betwixt the raies of the Sunne, and the eie, and betwixt the soule of man, and the

Lumb lib. 1. distinct. 42.

the grace of God. The eie is ordained by nature to be the organ of the sight, and yet the eye cannot see except the Sunne enlighten it; neither can the Sunne make any thing else see but the eye in man, for it may shine vpon our hand or foot, neuertheless the hand or foot shall see nothing: so the soule hath a possibility to merit by her naturall abilitie, but that possibility shall be vaine and fruitlesse, vnlesse it be quickened by the powerfull operation of Gods grace, which grace, if it shall once actuate it, then the soule will be able to attaine to that double life of grace here, of glory hereafter. *Vnde totum est ex gratia, sic tamen vt non excludatur meritum.* Whence he would haue all to hang on grace, yet so that we exclude not merit. But this inference is many stories aboue my reach, and in the greennesse of my iudgement, there is little truth in the consequence, and palpable contradiction in the consequent. For how can the merits of man challenge any thing, if all flow from the grace of God? Yes (saith *Hugo*) euen as a weake child which cannot yet goe alone, should be led by the Nurse, a man cannot say that the childe goeth of himselfe, but by the assistance of the Nurse; and yet the Nurse could not make the childe goe, vnlesse he were naturally inclinde to that motion: so the soule of man is said to merit by the aid of grace, and by her owne naturall inbred ability, but all the glory of the merit must be ascribed to God, because the soule can doe nothing without the support and grace of God. Whence I can gather no truth but this, that in *solo homine sit potentia logica ad salutem.* That a man only may be saued without apparant contradiction; no vnreasonable creature is capable of that eueralasting blessednesse and beatifieall vision; and the soule of a beast is no more able to see God, than a senseleſse stocke to behold a visible object. For man onely hath a passiue power to saluation, and man before his conuersion hath a passiue power onely. And therefore the similies afore proposed, if they be

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referred to the soule before the conuersion, are false, and beare no proportion, for then the soule is starke blinde, and dead in trespasses, and cannot looke on the grace offered, or moue one iot in the course of Christianity: But after the conuersiõ when God speaks *Ephata* to the soule, be opened, when the vnderstanding is illuminated, and scales of errour once drop from the eyes, then it may hold some correspondency with truth. As therefore in matters of our conuersion, so of election too, all hangs on Grace, and this grace in a holy reseruation limited to a narrow Tribe, for the *cuius vult* here insinuates no more, and *He will haue mercy on whom he will*, sounds in a direct æquiualence with this, *He will haue mercy* onely on some; of which some there is a definite and set number, vncapable of augmentation, or diminution, howeuer those new spring Sectaries, out of a turbulent brain and thirst of canillation, blaspheme the eternity of Gods decree, making our election mutable, incompleat, conditionate, subiect to change and reuocation, and what other stranger birth and prodigie of opinion, which I conceiue not without a holy impatience and indignation. And whereas our Fathers of old haue maintained, euen to the sword and faggot, the decree of election to be no lesse eternall than irreuocable, these would faine lull our beleefe with innouation of vpstart discipline, altering no lesse the number than the condition of the elect into the state of reprobate, and of the reprobate into the elect. And (as the Deuill did to Christ) they vrge Text and reason for it. For God (say they) cannot giue grace to whom he doth giue grace, which if hee should doe, an elect may be damned; and hee can giue grace to him he doth not giue grace too, which if he doe, a reprobate may be saued, and so a reprobate may become an elect, and an elect a reprobate. Thus they shoot by an indirect aime, and saile by a wrong Compasse, for wee enquire not here of Gods power, but of his will, not what he

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he can doe, but what he hath resolued to doe. Againe, it seemes no consequence, God can saue or damne a man, therefore this man can bee saued or damned, *Non enim posse, Dei sequitur posse nostrum*, Gods power stands not in relation to ours; as if God would otherwise redeeme mankinde than by the death of his Sonne. (As there was another meanes possible (saith *Austin*) but not more conuenient.) That therefore mankinde could otherwise be redeemed, and if God had this in his power, that it should be therefore in mans too? Could not God (if he would) haue saued *Iudas*? doth it therefore follow that *Iudas* could be saued? No, for though this bee too ragged and stonie for a popular capacitie to digge thorow; yet if wee looke backe a little into the mysteries of Gods decree, wee shall finde that which will no lesse releeue our vnderstanding, than remoue our scruples; where things from euerlasting haue such a doome, which is not malleable either by change or reuocation, *For the Lord of hosts hath determined, and who can disannull it? and his hand is stretched out, and who can turne it away?* *Isay* 14. 27. Seeing then that election is from eternitie, and that not obnoxious to mutabilitie or corruption, we neither curtaile the elect of their primatiue glory, nor of their number. Which though they bee a little flocke, (in respect of that herd and large droue of the damned) yet in those sacred volumes of Gods diuiner Oracles, we finde them numberlesse. So *Apoc.* 7. 9. *These things I beheld, and loe, a great multitude which none could number of all nations, and kinreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lambe, cloathed with long white robes, and palmes in their hands.* Whence those Factors for the Romish See, would hew out a way to vniuersall grace; making our election *generall, manifold, indefinite*, and would haue Christs death no lesse *meritorious*, than *propitiatoria* for the sinnes of the whole world. A *quare* long since on foot betweene *Augustine*

Hugo de Sancto Victore in cap. 9. ad Rom.

and *Pelagius*, and since in a fiery skirmish betweene the Calminist and the Lutheran, out of whose mud and corruption there hath beene lately bred the Arminian, a Sect as poysonous as subtill, and will no lesse allure than betray a flexible and yeelding iudgement. For our own safety then, and the easier oppugning of so dangerous a suggestion, let vs examine a little of the extent & bounds of this grace, which Diuines cut into these three squadrons, in *Gratiam Predestinationis, vocationis, & iustificationis. Gratia Predestinationis*, is that of eternity, the wombe and Nursery of all graces, whereby God loued his elect, οὐ χάριν αἰωνίαν. *Gratia vocationis*, a secondary grace, by which God calls vs, & by calling prescribes the meanes of our saluation. And this grace hath a double prospect; Either to that which is externall, *in libro Scripturæ*, or *creaturæ*, where God did manifest himselfe as well by what he had made, as by what he had written; or to that which is internall, of illumination, or renouation, of that in the intellect only, which a reprobate may lay claime to, of this in the heart, which by a holy reseruation and incommunicablenesse is peculiar to the elect. *Gratia iustificationis*, which is not a grace inherent, but bestowed, and stands as a direct Antipode to humane merit. Yet not that χάρισμα which the Schooles christen with a *gratia gratis data*, any gift which God out of his free bounty hath bestowed vpon vs beyond our desert, as Prudence, Temperance, and the like; for in these the heathen had their share, whose singular endowments haue made posterity both an admirer, and a debter; but χάρις. *Gratia gratum faciens*, a gift perfect, and sanctified, which doth so qualifie the receiuer, that hee is not onely acceptable, but glorious in the eyes of the bestower, as Faith, Hope, and the third sister Charity, which no lesse reconcile than iustifie vs before God.

We conclude then, that the externall grace which the creature affordeth vs, is not limited to a priuate number, but

but to all; yet we deniethe power and vertue of saluation in it. We allow a sufficiencie of redargution for conuicting the heathen, who when they knew God, worshipped him not as God, & therefore are both desperate and inexcusable. Moreover the grace which the Scripture affordeth vs, as it is not vniuersall, so not of absolute sufficiency for saluation, but onely in *genere mediorum externorum*, (as the Schooles speake) because it doth prescribe vs the meanes how we may be saued, but it doth not apply the meanes that we are saued. Againe, that grace of Illumination is more peculiarly confined, and if by the beames of that glorious Sunne which enlightneth euery man that comes into the world, we attaine to the knowledge of the Scripture, yet the bare knowledge doth not saue vs, but the application. But the grace of regeneration is not onely a sufficient, but an effectuall grace, and as 'tis more powerfull, so 'tis more restrained; they onely partake of this blessednes, whom God hath no lesse enlightned, than sanctified, and pointed out, then sealed, men inuested in white robes of sinceritie, whose delinquēcies, though sometimes of a deepe tincture, are now both dispenst with, & obliterated, not because they were not sinfull, but because, not imputed: so inuolucrous, and hidden are Gods eternall proiects, that in those he relinquisheth, or saues, his reason, is his will; yet that as farre discoasted from tyranny, as iniustice. The *Quare* we may contemplate, not scan, lest our misprision grow equall with our wonder. And here in a double ambush dangerously lurke the Romanist and the Arminian, men equally swolne with rancor of malice, and position: and with no lesse violence of reason, than importunitie, presse the vertue of Christs death for the whole world. Alas! we combat not of the price and worth of Christs death, but acknowledge That an able ransome of a thousand worlds; but the ground of our duell tends to this, whether Christ dying proposed to himselfe the

saluation of the whole world. We distinguish then —*inter λυτρον Christi, & gratiam Christi.* The merits of Christ and the gracious application of those merits. His merits are able to allay the fury of his incensed Father, & reconcile vnto him the very reprobates: but the application of those merits are restrained to the Elect, for they onely are capeable of so great a blessednesse. For proofe whereof we haue not only that venerable Bench and Councell of Fathers & Schoole-men, but also a higher court of Parliament to appeale vnto, the Registers and penmen of sacred Chronicles, Euangelists, & Apostles, wch punctually insinuate Christs death onely for his own, for his Church, for his Brethren, for those whose head hee was, laying down his life for some, and shedding his blood for some, for his sheepe, his little flock, his peculiar Priesthood, his tabernacle, body, spouse, his Canaan, Sion, Ierusalem, his Ambassadors, Saints, Angels, in a word this *Cuius vult*, The Elect. I'le not beat your eares with a voluminous citation of text and Fathers, I'le draw only one shaft out of this holy quiuer, and direct it to the Roman aduersary, wch if he shall repell or put by, I'le proclaime hereafter a perpetuall truce. The maine and chiefe cause that impeld Christ to die, was his loue, *Iohn.* 15. But Christ loued not all, but his own, *Eph.* 5. Therefore Christ died not for all, but for his owne. The Iesuite here retraicts, and we haue none now left to encounter vs but the Arminian, who (like a cunning Fencer) hath many a quaint flourish, and with a false blow sometimes staggers, not wounds his aduersary. The part most indangered, is the eie of our Intellect, and iudgement which he thus dazzels with a subtile nicety. That Christ hath obtained reconciliation for all, for *Saul* and *Iudas*, but not as they were reprobates, but as they were sinners; For God (saith he) did equally intend, and desire the saluation of all, and the reason why they were not saued was their incredulitie, and misapplying of this gracious reconciliation and attonement.

Moulin in his Anatomy of Arminianisme.

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Thus they would betray weakneſſe into the hands of errour; and for a fairer gloſſe, and gilding of this their treachery, they diſtinguiſh —*inter Impetrationem, & applicationem*; Pretending that Chriſt did impetrate reconciliation for all, but the application of that leanes wholly to the elect. How crazy and ill tempered this poſition is, wee'le declare briefly. Firſt, wee deny that Chriſt by his death hath impetrated reconciliation for all, for *Saul* or *Iudas*: Neither can our thought, much leſſe our beleefe giue way to ſo ſtrange a Paradox, That remiſſion of ſinnes is obtained for thoſe whoſe ſinnes are not remitted, or that ſaluation was purchaſed for thoſe whom God from all eternity had decreed to condemne. Againe, we acknowledge Chriſts death ſufficient for all, all beleeuers, nay all, if they did beleeue. But that *Saul* or *Iudas* or the reſidue of that curſed Hierarchy ſhould reap the benefit of his Paſſion, we vtterly diſclaime as erronious and hereticall. For if Chriſt by his death hath reconciled *Iudas*, how i'ſt that *Iudas* ſuffers for his ſinnes? for we cannot without impeachment both of his mercy, and iuſtice too, ſay that Chriſt ſuffered for *Iudas* his ſins, yet *Iudas* is damned for thoſe ſinnes; And ſince Chriſt as he is God, hath from euerlaſting deſtined *Iudas* to damnation, how i'ſt that the ſame Chriſt, as he is man, & mediator betweene God and man, ſhould reconcile *Iudas*, whom from eternity he had reprobated? Againe, if Chriſt hath obtained reconciliation for all men, then none ſhall be borne without the couenant of Chriſt, ſo that of the Apoſtle will be falſe: That, *By nature we are all borne the children of wrath, Epheſ.* 2. And can we truely be ſtiled the children of wrath, if reconciliation be obtained for all men without exception? And if all infants borne without the couenant are reconciled, *Cur non clementi crudelitate in cunis tugulamus?* (ſaith the learned *Moulin*) why doe we not in a merciſull cruelty murther them in their cradles? for then their ſaluation were ſealed,

Idem ibidem.

led; but if they suruiue, they are nourished in Paganisme, infidelitie, which are the beaten roades & highwayes to destruction. And if we scan (saith he) the nicery of these words, the obtaining of reconciliation to be applied, and the application of reconciliation obtained, we shall finde it a meere curiositie to harrow and perplex the braine, and torture the vnderstanding, since Christ hath neuer obtained that which he hath not applied, neither hath he applied that which he hath not obtained. Yet these men either of a head-strong opinion, or learned madnesse, are so violent in the prosecution of their tenents, that no strength of answer will satisfie their obiection, nor modestie of language suppresse their clamour, but a foule mouthed *Forsterus* will bray out his witty spleene with an —*Error & furor Zuinglianorum.* His reasons are as slender as they are many (the vertigoes and impostures of a giddie braine) fitter for silence, than rehearsall, and for scorne than confutation. Wee apply then; Is grace vniuersally bountifull, and mercy open-brested vnto all? What meane then those Epithites of outcast, cursed, damned, and that triple inscription of death, hell, and damnation? are they either of policie or truth? Are they things reall, or fancied onely to bugbeare and awe mortalitie? What would the Throne portend? Iudge, aduersarie, Sergeant, prison, or those horrid tones of worme, fire, brimstone, howling, gnashing? Is the Scripture the Anuill of vntruth, or are these things no more than faigned and imaginary? What will those flames of your threatned purgatory proue at last, but the Chimæra and coinage of a phantasticke braine? And a 500. yeares indulgence, but the sharke and legerdemaine of your Lord God the Pope? Either your opinion is sandy, or your prison, both which must fleet with your holy Fathers honour, if the armes of mercie be expanded to all. Againe, are the merits of Christ appliable to all? Sweare, whore, drinke, prophane, blaspheme, &(if there be

be in that Acharon, and cursed rolle, a sinne of a fairer growth) baffle the Almighty at his face. Thinkest thou that heauen was euer guilty of such treason against her Soueraigne? or that it will euer entertaine a guest so exposed to the height of dissoluteness and debaushment? No, thou must know that one day there will be a dreadfull summons, either at those particular accounts, at the houre of death, or at the generall audit of the last trumpe, when thou shalt meet with a new Acheldema and vale of Hinnom, places no lesse of terror than of torment, the fiery dungeon, and the burning Tophet, where the fury of the great Iudge reaks in a floud of brimstone, and his reuenge boiles in a fiery torrent, limitlesse, and vnquenchable. On the other side happily maist thou slumber, without howle, or skreeke of conscience, thou wounded and deiected spirit; Thou whose glorious ornaments are but sackcloth and ashes, and thy choisest fare but the bread of sorrow and contrition. Know there is balme of Gilead for the broken-hearted sinner, and oyle of comfort for those which mourne in Sion. Behold how thy Sauiour comes flying downe with the wings of his loue, and sweepes away thy sinnes that they shall neither temporally shame thee, nor eternally condemne thee: Who shall wipe off all teares from your eyes, and lodge you in the bosome of old *Abraham*, where there is blisse vnspeakable for euer. And thus I haue shewed you the happinesse of sheepe vnder the state of mercy; Time bids me now to reflect on the misery of Goats, as they are vnder the condition of hardening.

PART.

PART. II.

He hardeneth.

WHat? hee that is rich in goodnesse, and his mercies aboue all his workes? he that mournes in secret for our offences, and vowes that he desireth not the death of a sinner, will hee harden? How can this stand either with his promise, or mercie, or iustice? Gods vnreuealed proiects are full of wonder, which if our apprehension cannot diue to, our beleefes must sound. *Occulta esse possunt, iniusta non possunt*, fraught they may bee with sullen and darker riddles, neuer with iniustice. Let vs first then take a suruey of Mans heart, and see to what miseries the hardnesse of it hath exposde our irregular predecessors, and after try whether we can make prouidence the mother of so deformed an issue. And here a while let vs obserue S. *Bernard* tutoring his *Eugenius*, *Cor durum*, a heart, which the softer temper of Gods working spirit leaues to mollifie, and its owne corrupt affections begins once to mould. Like that of *Nabal*, to bee all stone, becomes at last so cauterized, *Vt semetipsum non exhorreat quia nec sentit*, that it is so far from starting at its owne vglinesse, that it is non-sensible of deformitie. And hence *Theodoret* defines it to be *prauam animi affectionem*, a corrupt and depraued affection of the minde, which if man once giues way to, hee is so screen'd both from Gods mercie and truth, that though it bee about him, and in the masterdome and dominion of his best sense, *Non cernit tamen, nec intelligit*, yet his eyes are as blinde intelligencers to beleeue, as his vnderstanding. And against such that sweet Singer of *Israel* breakes out into his passionate complaint, *Vsquè quò filij hominum, vsquè quò?* O ye sonnes of men, how long will yee turne my honour into shame, how long? and that of the Protomartyr

tomartyr *Stephen*, in his Oration to the refractary Iewes. *Durâ ceruice*, O ye stiffe-necked and vncircumcised of heart and eares, yee doe alwaies resist the holy Ghost. And indeed such hearts are but the Wardrobes and Exchequers of future mischiefe, whose keyes are not in the custody of the Almighty, but thine owne bosome. For so that great Doctor of the Gentiles, *Secundum impœnitens cor tuum thesaurisas iram*: According to the impenitency of thine owne heart, *thou treasurest vp wrath* (to thy selfe) *against the day of wrath*. How then can that eye which should be fixed either on the tendernesse or mercy of his Creator, glance so much on his iniustice, as to make that the Midwife of so foule a progenie? Obduration was neuer the childe of goodnesse, neither can a sinne of so base a descent lay claime to omnipotencie. It stands not (I dare say) with Gods power, I am sure, his will, to reconcile two enemies in such an extremity of opposition. Doe sweet water and puddle flow immediatly from one and the selfe-same spring? light and darknesse from the selfe-same Sunne? I know there is a stiffe-necked and blind-fold Tribe, which God hath left, not made the story of his vengeance; whose affections are too dull and drowsie in his seruice. Men crestfallen in deuotion, whose hearts are so dead in their allegeance to him, that they seeme spiritlesse, hauing all the powers and faculties of their soule benummed, and their conscience without pulse or motion. And of these the Prophet, *Incrassatum est cor populi*, *Their heart is as fat as brawne*. These sticke not to belch open defiance in the face of the Almighty, and with those Miscreants in *Iob*, are ready to expostulate with eternity, *Quis est omnipotens vt seruiemus ei? Who is the Lord that we should serue him?* Such haue foreheads of brasse, which no shame can bore thorow: and (as the Prophet spake of *Iuda*) *a face of whoredome which refuseth modestye*. But Saint *Gregory* in his 10. *Homily* vpon *Ezechiel*, hath proclaimed their

doome. *Frontem cordis in impudentiam aperit culpa frequens, vt quo crebrius committitur, eò minus de illa committentis animus verecundetur:* Frequency of sinning doth flesh vs in immodesty, assiduity, in impudence. Offences that are customarie are not easie of dimission, and if thou once entertaine them as thy followers, they will quickly intrude as thy companions. Sinnes that are fed with delight, with vse, are as dangerous as those of Appetite: which oftentimes proue no lesse inseparable, than hereditary; to doe well is as impossible to these, as not to doe ill; So can assiduity make a sinne both delightfull, and naturall. *Can the Æthiop change his skinne, and the Leopard his spots? then may yee also doe well which are accustomed to doe euill.* That sinne then is irrazable which is so steeled with custome, and may vndergoe the censure of that sometime Citie of God; *Insanabile est dolor tuus.* Thy sinne is written with a pen of iron, and with a claw of a Diamond is engrauen on the table of thy heart. How then can wee without sacriledge, and robbing of diuine honour, make God the Father of so foule and vnwashed a crime? Obduration is the issue of thine owne transgression. *Perditio tua ex te, ô Israel:* If destruction dog thee, thanke thy corrupt affections, not blame thy Maker, for he doth but leaue thee, and they harden. To lay then (with some depraued libertines) the weight and burden of our sinnes on the shoulder of Predestination, and make that the wombe of those foule enormities, may well passe for an infirmity, not for excuse, and indeed thus to shuffle with diuine goodnesse, is no lesse fearefull, than blasphemous. For, though God from eternity knew how to reward euery man, either by crown, or punishmẽt, —*Nemini tamen aut necessitatẽ, aut voluntatem intulit delinquendi*, yet he neuer enioined any man either a necessity, or a will to sinne. If any then fall off from goodnesse, hee is hurried no lesse with the violence of his owne perswasion than concupiscence? and in

in those desperate affaires, Gods will is neither an intermedler, nor compartner, *Cuius ope scimus multos, ne laberentur, retentos, nullos, vt laberentur, impulsos* (saith *Augustine.*) By whose hand of prouidence wee know many to be supported that they might not fall, none impeld that they should. And in his answer to that 14. Article falsly supposed to be his, *Fieri non potest, vt per eum à peccatis surgitur, per eum ad peccata decidatur*: for one and the selfe-same goodnesse, to be the life and death of the selfe-same sinne, is so much beyond improbability, that it is impossible. If any then goe onward in the true rode of diuine graces, no doubt but the finger of the Almighty points out his way to happinesse; but if he wander in the by-paths of a vicious and depraued dissolurenesse, his owne corrupt affections beckens him to ruine. To loue then his children, and neglect his enemies, doth neither impaire Gods mercy, nor impeach his iustice. But why God should loue this as his child, neglect that as his enemy, *Nec possibile est comprehendere, nec licitum inuestigare*—, is beyond all lawfulnesse of enquiry, all ken of apprehension. Let this then satisfie our desire of knowledge, *Et ab illo esse, quod statur, & non esse ab illo, quod ruitur*: That his prouidence is the staffe and crutch on which we so leane that we yet stand; our corrupt affections, the bruzed and broken reed on which, if wee doe leane, we fall. If any stagger at those vnfathomed mysteries, and his reason and apprehension be strucke dead at the contemplation of Gods eternall, but hidden proiects, let him season a little his amazement with adoration, and at last solace his distempered thoughts with that of *Gregory. Qui in factis Dei, &c.* In the abstruse and darker mysteries of God, he that sees not a reason, if he sees his owne infirmity, he sees a sufficient reason why he should not see. Methinkes this should cloy the appetite of a greedy inquisition, and satisfie the distrust of any, but of too querulous a disposition, which, with the

eye of curiositie prying too nicely into the closet of Gods secrets, are no lesse dazeled than blinded; if not with profanation, heresie. Diuine secrets should rather transport vs with wonder, than prompt vs to inquiry, and bring vs on our knees to acknowledge the infinitenesse both of Gods power and will, than ransacke the bosome of the Almighty, for the reuealing of his intents. Is it not blessednesse enough that God hath made thee his Steward, though not his Secretarie? Will no Mansion in heauen content thee, but that which is the throne and chaire for omnipotency to sit on? No treasury, but that which is the Cabinet and store-house of his own secrets? Worme, and no man, take heed how thou struglest with thy Maker; expostulation with God imports no lesse peremptorinesse, than danger; and if Angels fell for pride of emulation, where wilt thou tumble for this pride of inquiry? As in matters therefore of vnusuall doubt, where truth hath no verdict, probability finds audience; So in those obstruct and narrow passages of his will, where reason cannot informe thee, beleefe is thy best intelligencer, and if that want a tongue, make this thy interpreter; so thou maist enade with lesse distrust, I am sure, with more safety.

And at last when thou hast scan'd all, what either scruple or inquisition can prompe thee to, in a deiected humiliation, thou must cry out with that Iewish penitent; *Lord I beleeue, helpe thou my vnbeleefe.* Yea, but how shall we here cleare God from this aspersion, when the Apostle is the Herauld to his guilt? *whom he will he hardens; Indurat* is an actiue, end doth alwayes presuppose a passiue; And if there be a subiect that must suffer, there must be a hand too that must inflict. How then can we quit the Almighty of the suspition either of tyranny or iniustice, since he is said to send on some *the spirit of errour*, 2 *Thess.* 2. and that great Trumpet of Gods displeasure, *Esay* in his 63. brings in the Iewes, no lesse muttering

tering than expostulating with God, *Quare errare nos fecisti Domine? Lord, why hast thou made vs to erre from thy wayes, and hardened our hearts from thy feare?* These instances (at the first survey,) beare terrour in their looks, and like sophisticated lights in a darke roome, make things seeme more vgly than they are; and are but false bils, preferred against a sporlesse innocent, which, without search, may conuince of publike crime, but narrowly scan'd, absolue him, no lesse from the act, than the thought of guilt. How God therefore in this is liable to censure and misprision, and how both a beholder, and intermedler of depraued actions; vouchsafe mee a little your attentiue patience, and I doubt not, but I shall informe the vnderstanding of the shallow, and to the portion of my weake Talent, will strine to satisfie the waueringly iudicious. *Whom he will he hardens.* Some (too nicely tender of the honour of their maker) haue giuen way to an interpretation more modest, than authenticke, and interpret —*indurare*— for *duritiam manifestare*, so that God is not properly said to harden the heart, but rather to manifest how hard it is; And to this opinion Saint *Augustine* is a close adherent in his 18. Question vpon *Exodus*. But this holds not with the purpose of God, nor with the scope and meaning of the Text, which if we compare with others of that nature, wee shall finde that Gods *will* hath rather a finger in this, than his promulgation: for so in the 10. of *Iosua* we reade, that 'twas the *will* and the sentence of the Almighty, that the Canaanites should be hardened, that they might deserue no mercy, but perish. Others there are (whose opinions border neerer vpon truth) which would haue God to be said to harden —*non effectiuè, sed permissiuè*; Not by way of action, but permission; and so *Damascen* in his third booke *de fide Orthodoxâ, cap.* 20. where his words run thus: *Opera pretium est agnoscere*—. 'Tis a matter no lesse worthy of knowledge, than obseruance, that 'tis the

custome of the Scripture to call Gods permission, his action. So we reade that God sent his enemies the spirit of slumber, which is not to bee ascribed to God as an agent, but as a permitter. This glosse sutes well with the approbation of Saint *Chrysostome*; who speaking occasionally of that of the first of the *Romanes*. *Deus tradidit illos*—God gaue them vp vnto vile affections, hee there expounds—*tradidit*, by *permisit*, which he thus illustrates by a similitude—; As the Generall of an Armie, in the sweat and brunt of a bloudy day, if he withdraw his personall directions from his souldiers, what doth hee but expose them to the mercie of their enemies? not that he led them into the iawes of danger, but because they were not back'd by his encouragement: So God in this spirituall conflict, he deliuers vs not into the hands of our arch-enemie, he leaues vs to our owne strength, and our corrupt affections drag vs thither with a witnesse. And hence that dicotomie of *Caietan* claimes his prerogatiue, that God doth harden *Negatiuely*, but not *Positiuely*, wch distinction though it be sound and Orthodox, yet it doth not exempt vs from scruple, for God hath more in the stiffeneck't and peruerse, than a naked and bare permission, otherwise we should too weakly distance obduration from a lesser sinne, for euerie sinne God permits, and as Saint *Augustine* in his *Enchir. 96. cap. Nihil fit nisi omnipotens fieri velit, vel sinendo vt fiat, vel ipse faciendo.* There's nothing done without the consent and approbation of the Almightie, and that either by his person or substitute. If God therfore be only said to harden man because he permits him to be hardened, why should he not be likewise said to steale, because he permits man to steale? No doubt therefore but God hath a greater ore in this sin of hardening, than in offences of a lesser bulke. And therefore Saint *Augustine* in his 3. *lib. cont. Iulianum*, 3. *cap.* with many a sinewed allegation proues, that God doth concurre to the excæcation and hardening both of the

the minde and heart, —*Non solum, secundum patientiam, & permissionem, sed potentiam, & actionem.* Not according to his patience and permission onely, but his power and action: Which position hee thus (after) qualifies with a distinction. *Obduration* is not onely a *sinne*, but a *punishment* of a sinne. Now, that which is in obduration meerely of sinne hath it's pedegree and originall from man onely; but that which is of punishment for that sinne, from God. And therefore I cannot but approue of that of *Isodore*, *Qui iusti sunt, à Deo non impelluntur, vt mali fiant, sed dum mali iam sunt, indurantur, vt deteriores existant*, —According to that of *Paul*, 2 *Thes*. 2. For this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they might beleeue a lie, that all might be damned that beleeue not the truth, but haue pleasure in vnrighteousnesse. I haue as yet but toucht the barke and skinne of the controuersie, the pith and the kernell is yet vnchewed, and that is, —*Whether God here (as hee is said to harden) be the cause of our transgressions.* Which *quere* admits a three-fold distraction, and difference of opinion. Two of them are extremes, and by hot opposition each of other, they haue both lost the truth, the third runnes in a midway, and euer directs to safety. *Florinus* (whose opinion posterity records as the monument of a seduced errour) with no lesse peremptorinesse than blasphemy hath arraigned the Almighty, and made him not onely the permitter, but the Author of our sins. The *Seleuciani*, after him, were poisoned with that heresie, & the *Libertines* laboured in the desēce thereof. *Manes*, and his disciples, dreampt of a *summum malum*, and vpon that phantasie grounded their assertion, that God the *summum bonum*, is to be seene only in our good actions, but euery depraued Act had its deriuation from their *summum malum*. But those of a more solid and well tempered iudgement, whom the influence of the Spirit had taught a moderatiō, or the danger of Inquisition for-

bad

bad curiositie, dare not with *Florinus* impute (here) sinne vnto God, yet maintaine against the *Manichees*, that God is not a bare and idle spectator, but powerfull ouer, although no actor in the sinne, Not in the sinne, as it is meerely a sinne, but in the sinne as 'tis a punishment of sinne. And therefore in euery transgression of ours, there are foure things remarkable, 1 *Subiectum, seu materiale*, the [illegible]ect in which sinne subsists, and that is two-fold; 1 *S[illegible]tia*, the substance, or rather the faculties of the reason[illegible] soule, in which originall sinne is so riuetted, that the naturall man can by no meanes purge himselfe of that hereditary contagion, or 2 *Actio bona*, on which all our actuall sinnes are grounded, 2 *Formale*, the formalitie, or obliquity of the action. For euery sinne is *ἀνομία*, the transgression of the Law, and in the sinner there's nothing sinne but this. 3 *Reatus*, The guilt of this enormity, which makes vs liable to eternall death. 4 *Pœna*, the punishment inflicted vpon the guilty, whether temporall, or eternall, or both. Now wee may not charge God with the obliquity of the action, for that proceeds from a peruerse, and a seduced will, but the substance of the action (as the Schoolemen speake) that hath its originall from God. And therefore wee consider sinne, either *vt malum culpæ*, as 'tis a violation of Gods law, or *vt malum pœnæ*, as a punishment laid vpon vs for the violation of that Law: So *Rom.* 1. 25. *The Gentiles turned the truth of God into a lie*, There's *malum culpæ*. And it follows immediatly at the 26. *verse*, For this cause God gaue them vp into vile affections, There's *malum pœnæ*. Now God is author of the second, not the first. If Atheists still hang on the eyes of clouded errour, I thus dispell them with that of *Hugo de Sancto Victore*— *Deus malu potestatem solam tribuit, non voluntatem, quia licet ex ipsius permissione sit, quod malum possunt, ex instigatione tamen non est quod malum volunt*: God onely gives power to the wicked, not will, that although it be by his permission

that

that wee can doe euill, yet it is not by his inspiration that we will doe euill. And therefore as the Schooles doe commonly distinguish of the decree of God, so must wee of the execution of that decree, which is either *per efficientiam*, when the diuine power doth worke any thing with, or without the creature, or *secundum permissionem*, when the creature hath leaue to worke without the guidance of that power. Neither will it sauour of impertinence, if we insert here that distinction of Gods prouidence in *efficientem & deserentem*: Into a *releeuing and forsaking prouidence*, for whensoeuer God withdrawes his especiall aid and assistance from vs, man is hurried where his owne corrupter appetite, not Gods grace carrieth him. *Adam* fell assoone as the influence of Gods grace ceased, and without the supporrance of the same grace we all fall, with no lesse certainty of perill, than danger of restitution. When the Sunne sets, we see darknesse follows immediately vpon the face of the earth, and yet the Sunne is not the efficient cause of darknesse, but the deficient, so when the Sunne of righteousnesse shall forsake vs, the darknesse of errour must needs possesse the vnderstanding, and the will must mistake in her choice and execution. She must *necessitate consequentia, non consequenti*. The necessitie is grounded on a consequence in Logicke, not any influence in Nature. And here we may borrow a true glosse for that in the 2 *Acts*, where it is said that Christ was deliuered into the hands of the wicked, by the determinate counsell & fore-knowledge of God. We must not thinke that God was the setter in this villany, that he conspired with *Iudas* in his treason, or with *Pilate* in his bloudy sentence: But that he onely gaue way to their attempts, & suffered them to crucifie the Lord of glory. Yes, but why did not God curbe them in their cruell proceedings? Why should his connuence betray the bloud of innocence? Saint *Augustine* shall answer for me, *Quia melius iudicauit de malis bene-*

bene-facere, quam mala nolle esse permittere. To extract good out of euill was peculiar onely to omnipotency and goodnesse; and therefore no lesse solid than charitable is that caueat of *Du-Plesses* — *Male quæritur, vnde malum efficiatur.* It is an ill curiosity to seeke an efficient cause of ill. Let this then satisfie modest enquiry that it is with the sinner as with an vntuned Instrument, and the Musitian, the sound is from the finger of him that toucheth it, but the iarring from the Instrument.

That our discourse then with the time may draw towards a Period, we inuolue and wrap vp in this one distinction the very iuice and substance of the controuersie. Sinne is considerable two waies, *ante commissionem*, before the Commission, *Sic se Deus habet negatiuè, tum respectu voluntatis, tum productionis.* God doth neither worke with vs, nor countenance vs in the act of sinning. *Post commissionem*, after the Commission, *sic Deus determinat, & ordinat peccatum.* God sets bounds to the malice of wicked men, and so mannages the disorder in sin, that contrary to the nature of sinne, and the intent of the sinner, it shall redound to his glory.

We inculcate then, that God is not the *authour*, but the *orderer* of sinne. Hee causeth the *worke*, not the *fault*; the *effect*, not the *delinquency*, working *by*, not *in* mischiefe. Wherein, according to the rules of Logicke, *the finall and impulsiue causes euer so distinguish the actions, that two doing the same thing to a diuers intent, are notwithstanding said not to doe the same.* So God gaue his Sonne, and Christ himselfe, and *Iudas* Christ, (saith *Augustine*) why is God here holy, and man guilty? *Nisi in re vnâ quam fecerunt, non est causa vna ob quam fecerunt.* I shut vp all with that state of *Fulgentius*, in his first booke *ad Mancinum cap.* 13. Where hauing long houered ouer this question, *An peccata fiunt ex predestinatione?* He at last thus resolues it: *Petuit Deus, sicut voluit, prædestinare quosdam ad gloriam, quosdam ad*

pœnam,

pœnam, sed quos prædestinauit ad gloriam, prædestinauit ad iustitiam, quos autem prædestinauit ad pœnam, non prædestinauit ad culpam. God when he saues any man, doth predestinate him as well to the meanes, as to the end. But in the reprobation of a sinner, God destines the sinner onely to the punishment, foreseeing, but not determining those sinnes which shall in time draw Gods punishments downe vpon him.

Doe our corruptions harden then, and God punisheth? Take heed you *Pharaohs* of the world, you which persecute the poore Israelite in his way to *Canaan*, spurre not the goodnesse of the Almighty to reuenge, or iustice. *Lesa patientia fit furor*—, trample too much on the necke of patience, you will turne it to fury. It is true, God hath feet of Lead (clemency intermixt with slownesse of reuenge) but he hath hands of iron, they will grinde and bruise into powder, when they are dared to combat.

Sera venit, sed certa venit vindicta Deorum.

Procrastination of diuine iustice is euer waited on no lesse with a certaintie of punishment than ruine. What shall wee doe then (wretched, miserable that wee are) or to whom shall we flie for succour? The good S. *Augustine* tels vs, —*à Deo irato, ad Deum placatum*—, from the Tribunall of his iustice, to his Throne of mercie and compassion. That of *Anselmus* was most admirable, —*Etsi Domine ego commisi vnde me damnare potes, tu tamen non amisisti, vnde me saluare potes*—. O blessed Iesus, though I haue committed those transgressions for which thou maist condemne mee, yet thou hast not lost those compassions by which thou maist saue me. If our soules were in such a straight, that wee saw hell opening her mouth vpon vs, like the red sea before the Israelites; the damned and vgly fiends pursuing vs behinde, like the Ægyptians, on the right hand, and on the left; death and searedy to ingulse vs, yet vpon a broken heart, and vn-

disguised sorrow, would I speake to you in the confidence of *Moses*,—*Stand still, stand still; behold the saluation of the Lord.* Thou then which art oppreſt with the violence and clamour of thy ſinnes, and wanteſt an aduocate either to intercede, or pitty, heare the voice of the *Lambe*,—*Cry vnto me, I will heare thee out of my holy hill.* Is any heauily loaden with the weight of his offences, or groanes vnder the yoke and tyrannie of manifold temptations? —*Come vnto me, I will refreſh thee*— Doth any hunger after righteouſneſſe? behold, *I am the bread of life, take, eat, here is my body.* Doth any thirſt after the waies of grace? Loe, *I am a liuing ſpring, come, drinke, here is my blood:* my blood that was ſhed for *many* for the remiſſion of ſinnes, for *many*, not for all. Hath ſinne dominion ouer thee? or doth it reigne in thy mortall heart? are the wounds of thy tranſgreſſions ſo deepe that they cannot be ſearched? or ſo old, that they corrupt and putrifie? where is the Samaritan that will either binde them vp, or powre in oyle? But art thou not yet dead in treſpaſſes? are not thy vlcers paſt cure? are there any ſeeds of true life remaining? is there any motion of repentance in thy ſoule? will thy pulſe of remorſe beat a little? haſt thou but a touch of ſorrow? a ſparke of contrition? a graine of faith? know there is *oyle of comfort for him which mournes in Sion.* Not a teare drops from thee with ſincerity, which is either vnpitied, or vnpreſerued, —*God puts it into his bottle.* On the other ſide, is there a *Pharaoh* in thee? an heart vnmollified? a ſtone that will not be bruized? a flint vnmalleable? I both mourne for it, and leaue it: But is this *heart of ſtone* taken away, and is there giuen thee a *heart of fleſh*? is it ſoft and tender with remorſe? truly ſacrificed to ſorrow? know there is *balme of Gilead for the broken heart*, balme that will both refreſh and cure it. Thou then which groaneſt in the ſpirit, and art drawne out (as it were) into contrition for thy ſinnes; thou which haſt *waſht thy*

hands

hands in innocence, goe cheerefully *to the Altar of thy God*, vnbinde thy sacrifice, lay it on. But hast thou done it sincerely? from thy heart? lurkes there no falshood there? is all *swept cleane and garnished*? doth the countenance of that smile as cheerefully, as the other seemes to doe of the outward man? ifso, thy fire is well kindled, the Altar burnes clearly, the *sauour of thy incense shall pierce the clouds*. But is this repentance disguised? hath it a touch of dissimulation in it? is not thy old rankor cleane disgorged, but must thou againe to thy former vomit? hypocrite, thy Altar is without fire, thy incense without smoke, it shall neuer touch the nostrils of the Almighty, thy prayers in his eares sound like brasse, and tinkle like an ill-tuned Cimball; all this formality of zeale is but a disease of the lip: *giue me thy heart my sonne*, I will haue that, or none, and that cleane too, wash both from deceit and guile. That subtill fallacy of the eye pointing towards heauen, that base hypocrisie of the knee kissing the earth, that seeming austerity of the hand martyring thy brest, gaines from me neither applause, nor blessing; the example of a Pharisee could haue chid thee to such an outside of deuotion,—*Qui pectus sauuotundit, & se non corrigit, aggrauat peccata, non tollit*, saith *Augustine*, where there is an outward percussion of the brest, without remorse of the inward man, there is rather an aggrauation of sinne, than a release; these blanchings, and guildings, and varnishings of externall zeale, are as odious in the eie of God, as those of body in a true Christian; this glosse, this paint of demurenesse speakes but our whoredomes in religion, & the integrity of that man is open both to censure and suspition, that is exposed either to the practise of it, or the approbation. A villaine is a villaine howsoeuer his garbe or habite speake hi notherwise, and an hypocrite is no lesse, though flecked ouer with an externall sanctity, & drest in the affectations of a precise cut. Let vs be *truly that* what wee *seeme to be*, and not

seeme what we are not; let there be dores & casements in our breasts, that men may see the loyaltie twixt our heart and tongue, and how our thoughts whisper to our tongue, and how our tongue speakes them to the world. Away with those Meteors and false-fires of Religion, which not onely by-path vs in a blinded zeale, but misleade others in our steps of errour. Let vs put off the old man in our pride, vaine-glorie, hypocrisie, enuy, hatred, malice, and (that foule disease of the times and vs) *vncharitablenesse*; and let vs put on the new man in sincerietie, faith, repentance, sobrietie, brotherly kindnesses, loue, and (what without it disparages the tongue both of men and Angels) *charitie*; then at length all teares shall be wiped away from our eyes, and we shall receiue that euerlasting benediction, — *Come yee children, inherit the kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world.* — To which, the Lord bring vs for Christ Iesus sake, to whom be praise and power ascribed now, and for euermore. Amen.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

FINIS.

THE ARRAIGNMENT OF THE ARRIAN.

His { *Beginning.* *Height.* *Fall.*

In a Sermon preached at *Pauls* Crosse, *Iune* 4. 1624.

Being the first Sunday in *Trinitie* Terme.

BY

Humphry Sydenham, M^r. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *Colledge* in OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed for IOHN PARKER.
1627.

[illegible]

Religion [illegible]

prehension; but if we meet with vnweldy dispositions,
such as are not only vntractable, but opposite to the waies
of faith, we shall rather drag than inuite them to beleeue;
howeuer the Father laboureth here by a powerfull persua-
sion, and what hee failes in the strength of [illegible]
maketh good by way of a [illegible] which he illustrateth by a
[illegible] and light which are all one thing, one
proceeding from another, neither can the one be possibly
without the other, [illegible] the [illegible] in the *Fa-*
ther to the *Sonne* [illegible] endeuours to demonstrate that the
obliquity [illegible] when from faced Roses in *Christ* [illegible]
[illegible] *confirmed* [illegible] in [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] flatters the vnchaste body [illegible]
[illegible] *Sauiour* [illegible] there are
[illegible] one, [illegible] yet two [illegible] who not
[illegible] and *Father*? The *Arrians* [illegible] for here al-
so one borne of another, yet all one and equally to be

borne

TO MY APPROVED WORTHY FRIEND Mr. *Francis Crossing*; This.

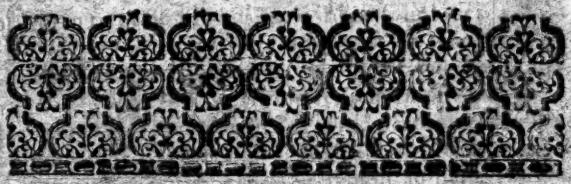
SIR;

I Was neuer yet so preposterous in my respects, as to value the worth of him I serue, by the title, but the disposition; He is noble *to me, that is so in his* actions, *not his* descent; *those high-swolne priuiledges of* bloud *and* fortune *are (for the most part)* tympanies *in* greatnesse, *pricke them, and they prouc*

windes of honour, *not substances. Had I beene ambitious of an high* Patronage, *this weake peece I send you might haue worne an* honourable *inscription, but I haue that within me which chides those insolencies, and tells me that the name of* friend *sounds better than of* Lord, *and hee is lesse mine that doth onely* countenance *me, than he that* feeds *me; He onely deserues to be a protector of my Labours which hath beene a cherisher of my fortunes, o you then this at once flies for Patronage, and acceptance, desiring you to receiue it as a monument of his thankfulnesse, who euer deuotes himselfe*

Your most-most respectiue

HVM: SYDENHAM.



THE ARAIGNMENT OF THE ARRIAN.

IOHN 8. 58.

Before Abraham was, I am.

NEuer age afforded a perfection of that eminency which was not exposed to enuie, or opposition, or both. Truth is the childe of vertue; and, as the inheritresse of all her glories; so, her sufferings. Now, vertue growes by vniust wounds, and so doth truth too; and like steele that is bent, springeth the other way. She shewes her best lustre vpon encounter, and like the Sunne shines brightest betwixt two clouds, *malice*, *errour*; both (here) conspire to ouercast and darken the glory of those beames which enlighten euery man that comes into the world,

the

the sunnes of righteousnesse. It hath euer beene the stratagem and proiect of that *Arch-enemie* of man, for the aduancement and strengthening of his great title—*The Father of lies*—, either to strangle truth in the conception, or smother it in the birth. If hee miscarrie in his owne particular vndertakings, hee will suborne his Factors, *Scribes* and *Pharisees*; and these not onely to question, but to oppose a Deitie, fit agents put vpon such a damned designe, for it is theirs no lesse by debt than parentage; —*Ye are of your father the Deuill, v.* 44 He hath bequeathed you a prodigious lie, and you would faine practise it on the Sauiour of the world, labouring to nullifie his acts, blemish his descent, imposture all his miracles. Where were they euer seconded, but by the finger of a God? or, where contradicted, but by the malice of a Iew? could the powers of the graue, and the shackles and bands of death bee dissolued, and broken by the meere hand of *Beelzebub?* or a dead and stinking carkasse, enliued and quickened by a *Samaritan and his deuill?* could the kingdome of darknesse, and all those legions below, fetch a soule out of the bosome of your *Abraham*, and re-inthrone it in a body foure dayes entombed? No, that —*Magnus hiatus inter te, & nos*—, returnes the lie vpon all hellish power, and the prince thereof.—*Betweene you, and vs, there is a great gulfe fixed, Luke 16. 26.* Why then exclaime you on the iniustice and falshood of his testimonies? *Opera quæ ego facio*—, *The workes which I doe beare witnesse of me.* Looke on them, and if they vnscale not your wilfull blindnesse, the axioms and principles of your owne law will conuince you. It is written in your *Thalmud*,—*That the testimony of two men is true*—. Behold then out of your owne bloud, and Nation, two strong euidences against you, Iewes both, and both speake him a true God, —*A virgin shall conceiue and bring forth a Sonne, and his name shall be called Emmanuel, God with vs*, Isa. 7. 14. *This is our God, and there shall be none in*

comparison

comparison of him, *Baruch* 3 36. Why then are ye so startled at his naming *Abraham*? or why doth your indignation swell, that he sayes he is before him? *Abraham reioyced to see my day, and saw it, and was glad, vers.* 56. (My day of eternity, and my day of incarnation, with the eie of faith.) Why enquire you into the number of his yeeres? a whole age to him is as an houre, two thousand yeeres but as a minute, and all the wheeles and degrees of time within his span, and as a *nunc* or instant? before *Abraham* was, before the world, before all time *I am. Iew*, take his word, it is orthodox, or if not, his asseueration: and if that be too slight and single, loe, hee doubles it, *Verily, verily, I say vnto you, before Abraham was, I am.*

And now thou that sittest in the chaire of *Moses*, heare what S. *Augustine* tells thee, —*Appende verba, & cognosce mysterium*—, the words (indeed) are of a narrow circuit, yet they shrine and inuolue a mystery, and carry with them both maiesty and depth, like rich stones set in Ebonie, where though the ground be darke, yet it giues their lustre and beauty clearer; learne here then both propriety, and weight of language, and how to criticke between a God, and thy owne frailty.—*Intelligè, fieret, ad humanam fallitur am, sum verò, ad diuinam pertinere substantiam?*—*Was*, points onely to a humane constitution, —*I am*, to a diuine substance, and therefore the originall hath a—γενεσθαι— for *Abraham*, & an —εἰμὶ— for *Christ*. Diuinity is not cloistered or confined to time; either past, or future, but commands all as present; and therefore not—*I was*, but—*I am*. Neither due the Latine, giue *Abraham* an —*esset*, but a *fieret*, nor *Christ* a —*fui*, but a —*sum*. Hereupon the full tide of Expositors, besides * *M. Caluine*, and his *Marlorate*, (who though they a while diuide the streame, yet at length they meet in the same channell, and so make the current a little fuller) waue this way, and send vs to that —*I am*, of *Exodus*,

* Εὐλογίαι ἐκτενεῖς, *Cal. in 8. Io.*

dui, in the 3. *chap.* 14. *vers.* where wee finde the root wich an—*Ehieh, Asher Ehieh*, which though the Chaldee renders,—*Ero quæ ero, I will be that I will be*- (which indeed is the genuine signification of the originall) yet the vulgar Edition giues it in the present, —*I am that I am*- and the *Septuagint*— ἐγώ εἰμὶ ὁ ὤν, —*I am he that is*- (it being both frequent and necessarie with the *Hebrewes* to place the future for the present) and by this they imply —*Gods eternall and vnchangeable being in himselfe.* The *Thalmudists* also (whose authority must passe for currant, where there is no power to contradict, or scanne) allow this,—*Ehieh*-as much as—*Sum*—*Fui*—*ero*-the comprehension of three times, *past, present*, and to *come*-. So the *Rabbins* in *Ellesbemoth Rabbi* vpon this Text, reade, —*I that haue beene*, and *I the same now*, and *I the same for time to come.* Howeuer the *Chaldee Paraphrast* labours an indifferencie, and hath charitie enough to afford both interpretations,—*He that was, and hereafter will be.*— *Ad denotandam æternitatem eius* (saith *Ionathan*) to shew the eternall being of him who alone can say —*Sum, ero- I am, and I will be*; for he is the verie source and fountaine of all life and essence, *In whom we liue, and moue, and haue our being*—, and by reason of this triplicitie of time and power, *Vatablus* would deriue *Ihehouah* from this word —*Ehieh* (though some of the *Hebrew* Doctors fetch the pedigree a little higher) from —*Hauah*, —*He was*, and tels vs that by the first letter is signified, *he will be*, and by the second—*Ho.*—*He is*; & to this *Rabbi Bechai* seemes to assent, in his *65. page* vpon *Exodus.* But howeuer they war a little in the deriuation, they do not in the substance, proportioning both this triple priuiledg, & where there is such an immensity, we cãnot but make a God, & where such a God, eternitie. All things besides him onee were not, and being, are limited in their natures, neither could possibly persist, vnlesse God preserued them; many also haue lost, or shall lose their proper essence, and whilst they

they remaine are obnoxious to daily fluctuations; only God eternally —*Is*— without beginning, limitation, dependance, mutation, end, consisting only of himselfe, and all other creatures of him, and therefore this—*Ehieh*—*I am*—is a peculiar attribute of omnipotency, not determining any other, but indeterminatly signifying all manners of being, for so it imports —*The very immensitie of Gods substance*,—and to this with an vnanimous consent all Interpreters subscribe, and the whole quire of Fathers. I haue now brought — *Ehieh* — close vp with *Iehouah*, this —*I am*— with him that is -*First*- and *Last*, so that we may here rather challenge than borrow that of the *Apostle*; *Iesus Christ yesterday, and to day, and the same for euer*. Where *S. Chrysostome* will put *Christ* vpō that triple prerogatiue to make him a compleat God, too.— *A yesterday*, for time past, -*to day*- present-*for euer*, to come, though I meet here (as I shall in euery cranny and passage of my discourse) a violent opposer, *Eniedinus Samosatenianus*, who limits the *Apostles*—*Heri*—and *Hodie*—*ad Rem nuperam, & recentem*- so in *Iob* (he saies) men are called — *Hesterni* — by the *Greekes*, ἐχθέσεις —*yesterday*- and *to day*— for their breuitie of life; but this interpretation is no lesse bold than desperate, and that εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας —which followes in the originall, will cut off all comment and glosse of transitorinesse —*The same for euer*.-and therefore we finde him cloathed with peculiar titles of the Almighty, and by Saint *Iohn* foure seuerall times fronted with an ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν,—*from him that was, and is, and is to come*;—so that if any murmuring vnbeleeuer should recoile in the acknowledgement of Christs diuinity; he beats on againe, a third & a fourth time, that if he cannot pierce the stony heart by a single perswasion, he will batter it by inculcation. However the malice or peuersnesse of most ages haue brought this truth not only vpon termes of scruple, but opposition, so that now it is growne disputable, whether Christ suf-

fered

fered more in his body by the fury and violence of the hand, or in his diuinitie by the scourge and sting of venomous and deprauing tongues? one would haue him, *no God*, another *no man*; this againe would haue him *a meere man*, and that denies him *a true bodie*; one strips him quite of *flesh*, another cloathes him with it, but makes it *sinfull*; this would haue him an *Angell*, that little better than a *deuill*, or at least that *he vsed one*. One, *no bodie*, another (I beleeue) *nothing* —*Est illud mirabile* (saith *Athanasius*) *Cum omnes hæreses inuicem pugnent, in falsitate omnes consentire*—

Euery head is frantike with a strange opinion, and that with some wilde fancie, which all meet in the same improbabilitie and (which it euer breeds) falshood. Errour and infidelitie may blow on diuine truth, and shake it too, but not ouerthrow it; 'tis founded on such a Basis and sure ground-worke as is subiect neither to battery nor vndermining. *The Rocke, Christ.* The *Iew* and the *Arrian* lay on fiercely here, not onely to deface this goodly structure, but to demolish it, and ruine (if possible) his diuinitie; but lend me a while your noble attention, I le shew you with what weaknesse they come off, what dishonour. In the trauersing of which giue mee leaue to make vse of that Apologie which in the same subject Saint *Ambrose* did to *Gratian*, —*Nolo argumento credas (sancte Imperator) & nostræ disputationi; scripturas interrogemus, interrogemus Apostolos, Prophetas, Christum.* Leane not so much to my strength of argument and disputation, as to a sacred authoritie & proofe; Let vs aske the Scriptures, Patriarchs, Prophets, Euangelists, Apostles, Christ; let me adde (for so both my taske and industrie require) Fathers, Councels, Rabbins, Schoole-men, Histories sacred & prophane, let's giue antiquitie her due, and not in a lazy thirst drinke of the streame, (which is either troubled or corrupt) when wee may haue our fill at a cleere fountaine; to traffique here

at

at home with a few moderne Systeames, is no small sinne of the age onely, but our profession too, if we can sleyle downe the transgressions of the time in some few stolne *Postelismes*, and peece a sacred line with a worme-eaten Apophthegme, so it be done in a frequent & hasty zeale, we are the Sages and the Patriots of the time, and the lights no doubt of this vnder firmament; but our discourse grouels not so low; we are here to tread a maze, & threed a Labyrinth, sometimes on hils of ice, where, if we slip in the least *punctũ*, we tumble into hæresie; sometimes with *Peter* in the deepe, that if the hand of *Christ* did not a little succour vs, we should sinke into infidelity. I will ballasse my discourse with as much cautelousnesse as I may, and where I meet with difficulties which are stony and vntrodden, if I cannot fairely master them, I will oppose them with my best strength, and if not finde a way smooth to satisfaction, dig on; I may perchance awaken hæresies, but I will lull them againe in their own slumber, I will onely pull aside the veile and shew you their vglinesse, and shut them vp in their owne deformities. I know I am to speake to an auditorie, as well seasoned with faith, as vnderstanding, and yet (perchance) not without some mixture and touch of weaknesse. Here are shallowes then for Lambes to wade, and deepes for elephants to swimme, passages which lie lenell with humble capacities, others which will venture to stand vp with riper iudgements, if they stoop sometimes and seeme too low for these, and mount againe and proue too high for others, it was euer my desire to keepe a correspondence with the best, and so to make vse of that of *Augustine*, —*Non fraudabo eos qui possunt capere, diuus timeo superfluus esse auribus eorum qui non possunt capere*—. Yet come I not to fill those eares which are pickt and drest for accuratenesse, I am so farre from labouring to please such, that I intend to vex them, if any charitable eare bee prone to a soure discourse, pitch that attention heere one

houre, and I shall make good my promise out of the words of the Text.

Before Abraham was, I am.

And here we are first to enter lists with that capitall and Arch-enemy of *Christ*, the vexation of the Fathers, and the incendiary and firebrand of the Eastern Church, the *Arrian*, who out of an enuious pride is at once bountifull and iniurious, willing to inuest *Christ* with the title ὁμοιοῦσιος, but disrobes him of that glorious, & his owne, ὁμοουσιος, granting him a *like* essence with the Father, not the *same*; equall to him in *power*, not *eternitie*; but giue me leaue to strip one heriticke to cloath another, and put on ours what *Tertullian* did on *Marcion* — *Quid dimidiatum mendacio Christum?* why dost thou thus peece-meale and mince a deity, & *halfe God* (as it were) the Son of the Almighty? — *Totus veritas*, he is the spirit of truth, and oracle of his Father, *the brightnesse of his glory*, in whom are hid all the treasures of *Wisedome, knowledge*, by whom God made the world.

It were too bold a solecisme to ranke transitorinesse with what is sacred, or that which is fleeting with euerlastingnesse, what below eternall dare we make compatible with omnipotencie?

An eternall Intellect, most perfect, and such is God, requires an object equally perfect, and eternall, which from God, holding a relation to God, can be nothing but God it selfe; & seeing that no Intellect can conceiue without the image of that object which it conceiues, it will follow of necessitie that God, since from all eternitie he knew himselfe most perfect, should conceiue and bring forth in himselfe a most perfect image of himselfe, his Sonne. There is no act of vnderstanding without imagination, which naturally presents an *image*, by so much the more perfect, by how much the object, whose image

image it is, is more diuinely excellent. And this is that the Apostle glanc't at, when he stiled *Christ*, —*Charactere hypostasis patris* —the expresse *image* of his Fathers person, a sonne so begotten *of* and *in* the *substance* of the Father, that there can be nothing from it, diuers, or repugning. Seeing then, in God to *vnderstand* and *to be* are not so much parallels, as equals, *Intelligi autem sit ipsum filij esse* —as the Schoole speakes —strength of consequence will induce, that the substance of Father and Sonne, sound one both in power and euerlastingnesse; in fine, for as much as the *vnderstanding* of God is from eternitie, actiue, nay, the very act eternall, and that *vnderstanding* cannot be without an *Image*, It followes that this *Image* which was conceiued, the Sonne, was equall to that which did conceiue, the Father, so that the eternitie of God the Sonne, and his equalitie with God the Father doth arise from that essentiall Identitie of both, for where two persons shall agree in the same essence, if the one be infinite, the other must riuall in the same eternitie.

Keck. Syst. Theol. l. 1. c. 2.

Here is the Rock then on which we build our Church, and the sure *Basis* where we foot and fasten our beleefe. —*The Sonne is begotten of the essence of the Father, and alwayes begotten.*—*Non quod quotidie renouetur illa generatio, sed quia semper est*,—saith *Origen*, not because it is daily renouated, but because it euer—*Is*—or rather —*Was*. For Saint *Gregory* in the 29. of his *Morals*, the first Chapter, plaies as well the *Criticke*, as the Diuine, & is no lesse nice, than solid,—*Dominus noster Iesus Christus in eo quod virtus & sapientia Dei est, de patre ante tempora natus est, vel potius quia nec cœpit nasci, nec desijt, dicam verius, semper* natus, *non possumus, semper* nascitur, *ne imperfectus esse videatur*—Our Lord *Iesus Christ* in that he is the power and wisedome of God is said to be borne of the Father before all times, or rather because there was no *beginning* or *end* of his generation, we may speake more

Tom. 2. hom. 6. in Iereni.

congruously, he *was* alwayes borne, not *Is*: for that presupposes some imperfection, and as the same Father prosecutes. That we may declare him borne perfect and eternall, we allow him as well a *semper* as a *Natus*: for as much as *Natus* hath reference to perfection, *semper* to eternitie. However S. *Augustine* in his exposition of that of the *Psalmist*, —*Ego hodie genui te*—*Thou art my Sonne, this day have I begotten thee*, *Psal.* 2. sayes that *Hodie* [illegible] *iam significat* and in eternitie, neither is the choe [illegible] any thing, as if it should cease to bee, nor come to come, as if it were not yet, but onely the sine present. Because whatsoever is eternall alwayes *Is*: yet at length he understands that place—*de sempiterna generatione Filii Dei*— And *Lombard* descants [illegible] in his first booke ninth distinction, who would have the Prophet to say *Genui*—*ne nouum putaretur*, *hodie*—*ne praeterita generatio videretur*: *I have begotten thee*, lest it should be thought new, *to day*, past, and thence out of the authoritie of the Text or the interpretation, concludes a perpetuall generation of the Sonne from the essence of the Father.

Vt aeternus designari valeat, & perfectus, & semper natus, & natus, quatenus, & natus ad perfectionem pertinet, & semper ad aeternitatem.

But here the Heretick interposes, and thus subtilly beats at the gates of reason; *A thing that is borne, cannot bee said that it was euer, for in this respect it is said to be borne, that it might be.* S. *Hilarie*, by a modest answer, or confutation rather, limits his proposition to things meerely secular, which borne here in the course of nature, must necessarily call on time, and tell vs they sometimes were not, it is one thing then to be borne of that which alwaies *is not*, another of that which alwaies *was*, for that is temporarie, this eternall.

Lib. 12. de Trin.

If then it be proper to God the Father, alwaies to bee Father, it must be to God the Sonne, alwaies to be Sonne; so the Euangelist,—*In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and that word was God, and the same was from the beginning; erat, erat, erat, erat, ex quatenus erat, vbi impius inuenit quod non erat?* Saint *Ambrose* in his

Joh. 1. v. 1.

his first to *Gratian* 5. & indeed it was not without a mystery when in that glorious transfiguration on Mount *Tabor*, *Peter* saw *Christ* with *Moses*, and *Elias*; *whose face did shine as the Sunne, and his raiment was white as Snow*; Wise did this vision portend! *Nisi ut appareret nobis Legislator & Prophetæ esse Evangelio congruentes semperque in Deo Patre suo manentes, & ab eo revelantes.* *But what is it to appear unto us? the Law and the Gospel being bound up in one bundle, and the Prophets for under Christ, and Moses, and Elias, shine alone also (shrines those three) should reveale unto us the eternall Sonne of God, whom they had both foretold and showne.* And lo yet, as if there were not Oracles loud enough for the promulgation of such a Miracle, the voice of the Almightie hits up with a —*Hic est meus Dilectus filius. Tu es mus Filius Sonne*, My Sonne to-day, —*Ego ex utero ante Lucifer genui te.* *Psal.* 34. And a sonne of mine owne substance, —*Ex ore meo Misissem prædicatores.* —*Isai* 7. —*primogenitus*—*before the day was, I am he*, *Esay* 43. 13. —*Unigenitus*—*A just God, and a Saviour, There is none besides me*, *Esay* 45. 21. A Sonne begotten, not created, not of grace, but nature, *before* not *in* time.

Hereupon *Christ* taking his farewell of his Disciples, *John* 20. shewes them this *Intervallum* and distance of generation and adoption: *I goe to my Father, and your Father, and to my God and your*, not to *our* Father, but to *mine* and *yours*. This separation implies a diversitie, and shewes that God is his *Father* indeed, but our *Creator*; and therefore he addes, *My God and your God*; *Mine* by a priviledge of *nature*, *yours* of *grace*; *Mine* out of the wombe (as it were) of *everlastingnesse*, *yours* out o' the jawes of *time*. Yet the *Heretique* would faine fell vs to vnbeleefe and errour, by cheating *Christ* of an eternall birth-right, tossing it on the tides of time, and so make him a creature, and no God.

Ambros. vt supra

Angin orat. ad Chrisop.

Heereto dissent meerely were both perfunctory and

Amb. vt supra.

dull, such a falshood merits rather defiance, than deniall, —*Negamus? potius horremus vocem*—. Errours that are so insolent are to be explos't, not disputed, and spit at rather than contrould. Confutation swayes not heere, but violence, and therefore the Apostle driues this blasphemy to the head, *Coloss.* 1.15. Where we finde *Christ* stiled *primogenitus vniuersæ Creaturæ*, *The first-borne of euery creature*; not the first *created*, —*Vt genitus pro Natura, & primus pro perpetuitate credatur*—, saith *Ambrose*; *borne* presupposes diuine nature—*First*, perpetuitie, and therefore when the pen of the *Holy Ghost* sets him out in his full glory, he giues him this title, —*hæredem omnium*—, *The heire of all things, by whom God made the world*—, To make the world, and to be made in it, how contradictory? *Quis Authorem vsser opera sua deputet vt videatur esse quod fecit?* saith the Father. Was there euer malice so shod with ignorance, which could not diuide the Artificer from his worke, the potter from his clay, the Creator from the thing created? heare him speak in whose mouth there was no guile; —*Ego & pater vnum sumus*, *Ioh.* 10. *I and the Father are one*. *Vnum*—to shew a consent both of *power* and *eternitie*, —*Sumus*—a *perfection* of nature without *confusion*. Againe, — *Vnum sumus* not—*vnus sum*—(so *Augustine* descants)—*Vnum* to confute the *Arrian*, —*Sumus*—the *Sabellian*, the one disiointing and seuering the times of Sonne & Father, the other confounding their persons—*Vnum*—then, to shew their essence, *one*, —*Sumus*—the persons *diuers*.

Col. 1.

Amb. 1. de fi. ad Grat. cap. 2.

Orat. ad Catech. cap. 5.

I could wish that we were now at truce, but with these there is neither peace not safety, but in victory; wee are still in the Front and violence of our Aduersary, who puts on here as *Philip* did to *Christ*, with a —*Domine ostende nobis*—*Lord shew vs the Father, and it sufficeth vs*, but obserue how the Lord replies, and in his reply controules, and in his controulement cure's? *Haue I been so long time with thee, and hast thou not known me Philip?*

I came to reconcile thee to the Father, and wilt thou separate me? Why seekest thou another? he that hath seen me, hath seene my Father also— *Audi Arriane quia Dominus?* (saith *Augustine*) *si erraſti cum Apoſtolo, redi cum Apoſtolo*— Hearke *Arrius* how the Lord rebukes him, and if thou haſt digreſt with an Apoſtle, returne with an Apoſtle, ſo his checke ſhall be thy conuerſion. But whilſt we thus ſhoulder with the *Arrian*, the *Sabellian* lies in ambuſh, who now comes on like lightning and thunder, but goes off like ſmoake; for looking backe to thoſe words of our Sauiour, he runnes on boldly to his owne paradox, and by this harmony of *Sonne* & *Father* would perſwade vs to a *confuſion* of their perſons; but the Text beares it not, and one little particle ſhall redeeme it from ſuch a prepoſterous interpretation; for it runnes not with a— *Qui me videt, videt patrem*,— *He that ſees me, ſees my father*, as if I were both father & ſonne, but with a— *Qui me videt, videt*— *&*— *patrem*.— *He that ſees me, ſees my father* alſo. *Vbi interpoſitis vnius ſyllaba, &, patrem deſcernit, & filium, teque demonſtrat, neque patrem habere, neque filium*, *Auguſt.* in his *contra* 5. *hoeſt. genera cap.* 6. It is a rare opinion that hath not ſomething to hearten it either in truth or probability, otherwiſe it were no leſſe erroneous, than deſperate. But here there can be no colour or pretence for either, where both Diuinity and Arts breathe their defiance; that two natures ſhould diſſolue into one perſon, religion contradicts; two perſons into one nature, reaſon; but two perſons into one perſon, both reaſon & religion.— *Dixit Dominus Domino meo*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *The Lord ſaid vnto my Lord, ſit at my right hand*. Hearke *Sabellius*, here is a *Lord* and a *Lord*, two then, not one; where is now thy confuſion of perſons? *Ego Deus ſolus, & non alius extra me*, *Deut.* 32. 12. *I am God, and there is none beſide me*— *Arrius* where is thy God of *eternity*, and thy God of *power*, thy God of *time*, and *operation*, and thy God from the *beginning*?

Audi

Audi Israel, Dominus noster Deus vnus,—The Lord our God is God onely, no riuall, no sharer in his omnipotency, for if temporary, how a God? if a God, how not eternall? if eternall, how not one? Thou allowest him the *power* of God, but not the *eternity*, the *operation*, not the *time*; what prodigy of errour? what dearth of reason? what warre of contradiction? what is this but to be God, and no God? temporary, and yet euerlasting? Opinion once seeded in errour, shoots out into heresie, and after some growth of time, blasphemy. Who (besides an *Arrian*) could haue thus molded two Gods out of one? except a *Tritheite*, or a *Manichee*? Who (scarce so grossely neither) denie them not an equality of *time*, but *condition*, coeternall, but this *good*, and that *euill*. Thus men ouer-borne with the strength of a selfe-conceit, are so precipitated and drawne on with the swindge of an vnruly fancy, that leauing the road and vsuall wayes of truth, they run into by-paths of errour, and so at length lose both their iudgement, and their faith. Some haue beene so busie with starres, that they haue forgotten him that giues them influence; and like curious Lapidaries, dally so long with sparkling obiects, that they lose the light of that organ which giues life vnto their Art. Learning (indeed) in many is a disease, not a perfection, a meere surfeit, rather vomited, than emptied, nothing passeth but what is forced, and as sometimes with a fit of weaknesse, so of pitty. A greedy knowledge feeds not our vnderstanding, but oppresseth it, and like a rauenous appetite chewes more to poison, than to nourishment. Were I to drinke freely of what is sacred, I should desire that which flowes, not that which is pumped for, waters that are troubled yeeld mud, and are oftentimes as well the bane of the receiuer, as the comfort. A Pioner or bold myner which digs on too farre for his rich veine of Ore, meets with a dampe which chokes him, and we may finde some dispositions rather desperate than venturous,

curous, knowne more by a heady resolution than a wise cautelousnesse, whom we may resemble to that silly and storme-tost Seamen, who diued so long for a peece of his shipwracke treasure, that either want of aire, or ponderousnesse of water depriued him at once of life and fortune. *Arrius* hath been so long conuersant in the schoole of Philosophy, that he forgets hee is a Priest, and now makes that the *Mistresse* of Diuinity, which was before the *handmaid*. Saint *Augustine* therefore in his Oration *ad Catechum.* expostulates with the hereticke, and by way of *Prosopopeia* doth catechize him thus, —*Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem? Dost thou beleeue in God the father Almighty, & in his sonne Iesus Christ our Lord?* I beleeue, thou saiest: here, then thou art mine against the *Pagan* and the *Mahometan*. *Dost thou beleeue that the God and man, Christ Iesus, was conceiued of the Holy Ghost, and borne of the Virgin Marie?* I beleeue; thou art yet with me against *Photinus* and the *Iew*. *Dost thou beleeue the father to be one person, and the sonne another, yet father and sonne but one God?* and this also; here thou art mine too against the *Sabellian*. —*Age si mecum es in omnibus, quare litigamus?* saith the Father, if wee are one in all these, why contend we? *Let there be no strife betweene thee and me, for we are brethren.* But it will fall out here anon as betweene *Lot* and *Abraham*, *by reason of our substance we cannot dwell together*, wee must part anon. Tell me then how is the sonne equall to the father, in *operation* or *beginning*, in *power* or *eternitie*, or *both*? In *operation* and *power*, the heretique allowes, but not *eternitie*; *for how can that which was begotten bee equall to that which was not begotten?* Yes, *eternity*, and *greatnesse*, and *power* in God sound one, for he is not *great* in one thing, and *God* in another, but in this *great*, that hee is *God*, because his *greatnesse* is the same with his *power*, and his *essence* with his *greatnesse*. Seeing then the sonne is *coequall* in respect of *power*, he must be *coeternall* too in respect of

euerlastingnesse. Here the *Arrian* is on fire, and nothing can allay or quench these flames but that which giues them an vntimely foment, Reason. To proue a principle in nature is both troublesome and difficult, but in religion without the assent of faith, impossible. In matters of reason, it is first *discourse*, then *resolue*, but in these of religion, first *beleeue*, and the effect will follow, whether for confession of the truth, or conuiction of errour, or both. The greatest miracles our Sauiour did in way of cure or restauration was with a—*si credas*-, and that to the *liuing*, and the *dead*, and between those, the *sicke*. To the Centurion for his seruant with a—*sicut credis*-, *As thou beleeuest, so be it vnto thee, Matth.* 8.5. To the Ruler of the *Synagogue* for his daughter, with a -*Crede*- too,-*Feare not, but beleeue, Mar.*5.36. To all that are dumbe, or blinde, or lame in mysteries of Diuinity, as to those dumbe, or blinde, or lame in body, with a -*Vtrum creditis? Doe you beleeue these things?* then *your faith hath made you whole, Matth.*9.28. but if we meet with vnweildy dispositions, such as are not only vntractable, but opposite to the waies of faith, we shall rather drag than inuite them to beleeue; howeuer the Father labours here by a powerfull persuasion, and where hee failes in the strength of proofe, hee makes it out by way of allusion, which he illustrates by a similitude of *fire* and *light*, which are distinct things, one proceeds from another, neither can the one be possibly without the other, the *father* he resembles to the *fire*, the *sonne* to the *light*, and endeuours to deriue it (though obliquely somewhat) from sacred storie in *Deut.* 4.24. *God* is called a *fire*,—*Thy God is a consuming fire*; in *Ps.* 8. *Christ* the *light*, *Thy word is a light vnto my steps*: With this double stone he batters the forehead both of the *Sabellian*, and the *Arrian*; first of the *Sabellian*, for here are two in one, *fire* and *light*, yet two still not one, why not so with *Sonne* and *Father*? The *Arrian* next, for here also is one borne of another, yet the one not possibly to be

borne

borne without the other, neither of them *first* and *last*; *fire* and *light* coequall, *Father* and *Sonne* so too. The similitude iarres onely in this, those are *temporary*, and these *eternall*, —*pater ergò & filius vnum sunt* (saith the Father) —*Sunt-dico, quia pater & filius, -vnum- quia Deus; dualitas in prole, vnitas in deitate, cum dico filius, alter est, cum dico Deus, vnus est, cont. 5. hoest. genera cap. 7.* What more obuious and trodden to the thinnest knowledge, than that there is here *-alius* and *-alius*, but not *-aliud*, as in bels of equall magnitude and dimension, (pardon the lownesse of the similitude) which though framed out of the same *masse*, and *Art*, where the *substance* and *workemanship* are one, yet the *sound* is diuers; for though of Sonne and Father the *substance* be one as *God*, yet the appellation and *sound* is diuers, as *Sonne* and *Father*.

The Heretique either impatient of this truth, or ignorant, once more makes reason his vmpire, but how sinisterly, how iniuriously? that which should be the mistresse of our sense, and the Sterne and arbitresse of all our actions, must now be a promotresse and bawd to error. It is bold expostulation that runs vs on these shelues of danger, and hath beene the often wracke of many a blooming and hopefull truth. There are errors besides these desperate, of will, of vnderstanding, which sometimes are rather voluntary, than deliberatiue, and ballaced more by the suggestions of a weake fancy, than any strength of iudgement; If our thoughts still lie at Hull in those shallowes of nature, where we coast daily about sense and reason, how can wee but dash against vntimely errours? but if we keepe aloose in principles of Religion, where those winds of doubt and distrust swell and bluster not, faith will be at last our waster vnto truth. Let's not then any longer root our meditations in vallies vnder vs, but looke vp to *those hills from whence our salvation commeth.* Let's conuerse a little with Prophets and Euangelists, and those other Registers and Secreta-

ries of the Almighty. --*In te est Deus, & non est Deus praeter te, Esay* 45. 5. Infidell, either denie a diuinity of *Father*, or *Sonne*, or confesse an *vnitie* of both; for one thou must doe; of the *Sonne* thou canst not, for there is a God in him, the *Father*, *Pater qui in me manet ipse loquitur*, the *Father that is in me he speaketh, & the works which I doe he doth, Ioh.* 10. of the *Father* thou dar'st not, there is a God in him the *Sonne*, --*I am in the Father, and the Father in me, Ioh.* 14. Here then is both a *propriety of nature*, and *vnity of consent. God* in *God*, yet not *two*, but *one*, fulnesse of diuinity in the *Father*, fulnesse in the *Son*, yet the *Godhead* not *diuers*, but the *same*, so that now there is no lesse a singlenesse of *name* than *operation*. And therefore those words of the Apostle, though in the first encounter and suruay, they offer a shew of contradiction, yet searched to the quicke and kernell, are not without a mysterious weight, *Rom.* 8. 32. It is said of the Father, -*Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis tradidit*-. *He spared not his owne Sonne, but* gaue *him for vs all to death*; yet *Ephes.* 5. It is said of the Sonne, -*Tradidit semetipsum pro nobis*--, --*Hee gaue himselfe for vs*--. Heere is a double --*Tradidit*--an a --*pro nobis*--, and a --*se pro nobis*-, if he was *giuen* of the Father, and yet *gaue* himselfe, how can it follow, but that there must be both a sympathy of *nature* and *operation*? And indeed it were a meere sacriledge and robbery of their honour, to depriue them of this so sacred a correspondence. Wee allow to all beleeuers but one soule and one heart, *Acts* 4. to all those that cleaue to God *one spirit*, 1 *Cor.* 16. to husband and wife *one flesh*, to all men in respect of nature, but *one substance*; If in sublunary matters (where there is no alliance or reference with those more sacred) Scriptures approue many to be one, shall we rifle the Father and the Sonne of the like Iurisdiction, and deny them to be *eternally one*, where there is no iarre of *will*, or *substance*? Heare how the Apostle doth chalke out a way to our beleefe, by the

rules

rules of diuine truth, 1 *Cor.8.6. There is one God which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we of him, and one Lord Iesus Christ, by whom are all things, and wee by him.* Here is -*Deus*- and -*Dominus*-, a *God* and a *Lord*, and yet no pluralitie of *God-head*, and an -*ex quo*- and a -*per quem*,-*of whom* and *by whom*, yet a vnitie of *power*, for as in that he sayes *one Lord Iesus Christ*, he denied not the *Father* to be *Lord*, so by saying one God the *Father*, he denied not the *Sonne* to be *God*. —*In te igitur est Deus per vnitatem naturæ, & non est Deus* præter te *propter proprietatem substantiæ. Ambros. lib. 1. de fide ad Gratian. 2. cap.* With what sacred inscriptions do we find him blazoned, the *ingrauen forme of his Father*, the *image of his goodnesse*, the *brightnesse of his glorie?* and with these three of an Apostle, a Prophet rankes other three not subordinate in maiestie or truth; as if the same inspiration had dictated both matter and forme. *Counsellor*, the *Almightie God*, the *euerlasting Father*, the *euerlasting Father* in a double sense, either as hee is *author* of it, as *Iubal* was said to bee the *Father* of Musicke, when hee was but the *Author* et Inuentor; or in respect of his *affection*, because he loues with an *euerlasting loue*; yet some leaning on the word of the Greeke Interpreter μπλουτ⊖, which the vulgar renders, —*Pater futuri seculi*— would restraine it onely to the life to come, but *Caluine* extends it to a perpetuity of time and continued *Series* of all ages; And the *Chaldee* translation, (which with the *Hebrew* is most authentique) seemes not onely to assent to it, but applaud it too. -*Nomen eius ab antè mirabilis consilio, Deus fortis, permanens in sæcula sæculorum*-. Howeuer the *Septuagint* (certified with the maiestie of so great a name) giue it vs by —*Magni Consilij Angelus*—; which words though they haue no footing in the originall, yet both *Augustine* and *Tertullian* approue the sense, taking —*Angelus*— for —*Nuncius*—, so that *Christ* tooke not vpon him the *nature* of an Angell (as some would iniuriously seize vpon

Esay 9. 6.

In cap 9. Esay.

Origens opinion) but the *office*, by which as a *Legate* or *Mediator*, rather he appeared to those *Patriarchs* of old, *Abraham* and the rest, *Gen.* 18. 3.

I haue once more brought Christ as farre as *Iacob* and *Abraham*, but the Text tels mee a little farther, and so doth my aduersarie too, till I haue verified in *Christ* the strength of that voice, *I am the* God *of Abraham*, and the *God* of *Iacob*. We may not leaue him here with the bare title of an *Angell*, we must goe higher, to that of the *Sonne of God*, where we shall meet our implacable *Arrian* in his violent opposition. *If there be a Sonne, hee must be borne, if borne, there was a time when there was no Sonne, for to bee borne, presupposes a beginning, and that time.* Saint *Augustine* diuided (as it seemes) betweene pitie and indignation, answers; *Qui hoc dicit non intelligit etiam natum esse, Deo sempiternum esse—. To be borne with God, is to be eternall with God*, and hee opens himselfe by his old similitude, *Sicut splendor qui gignitur ab igne*, as light which is begotten of fire, and diffused, is coequall with the fire, & would be coeternall too if fire were eternall, so the Sonne with the Father, *this* being before all time, the *other* must kisse in the same *euerlastingnesse*. The Father thinking his reason built too slenderly, doth buttresse (as it were) and backe it with the authoritie of an Apostle, such an Apostle as was sometimes a persecutor, and therefore his authoritie most potent against a perseeutor, where he stiles Christ, *The power and wisdome of God*. If the Sonne of God be the power and wisdome of God, and that God was neuer without *power* and *wisdome*, how can we scant the Sonne of a coeternitie with the Father? For either wee must grant that there was alwayes a Sonne, or that God had sometimes no wisdome, and impudencie or madnesse were neuer at such a growth of blasphemie as to belch the latter. If the reuerend allegation of a learned Prelate, or those more sacred of an Apostle, cannot bung vp the mouth of a malicious Heretique,

1 Cor. 1.

rique, heare the voice of a Prophet, & a Father warbling vpon that too. *Before me there was no other God, and after me there shall be none*, Esay 43. 10. *Quis hoc dicit, pater, an filius?* (saith *Ambrose*) who is here the speaker, the Father or the Sonne (he comes ouer him with a subtill *Dilemma:*) if the Sonne, thus he saith, —*before mee there was no other God*, if the Father, — *After me* (saith he) *there shall be none*, for both the Father in the Sonne, and the Sonne in the Father must be knowne, when thou namest a Father, thou hast also designed a Sonne, because no man is a Father to himselfe; when thou namest a Sonne, thou confessest also a Father, for no man is sonne to himselfe, the Sonne therefore can neither subsist without the Father, nor the Father without the Sonne, the one being from euerlasting, we may not depose the other from the like omnipotency. If truth thus twisted in a triple authoritie of *Prophets, Apostles, Fathers*, cannot allay the turbulency of a contagious heretique, heare the voyce of him who spake as neuer man spake; neuer Father, Apostle, Prophet, (if at length such an authoritie be passable with an *Arrian*) the Lambe of God; *O Father glorifie me with thine owne selfe, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was*, Iob. 17. 5. Hearest thou Infidell? a Sonne, and glorified, with the Father before the world? what chinke now, what by-path for euasion where thou art compassed with such a cloud of witnesses?

Tell me deuill (for heretick is too cheape and low an attribute, when thou art growne to such a maturity and height of prophanation) was there a time when omnipotent God the Father was not, and yet was there a God? *Gird now vp thy loynes, and answer if thou canst*, for if he began to be a Father, then he was first a God, & after made a Father, how is God then immutable, how the same one, when by accesse of generation he shall suffer change? Grant mee then a God eternall, and thou must a Father, and if a Father, a sonne too, they are relatiues,

tiues, and cannot digest a separation either in respect of time, or power. And this thou didst once subscribe to (and I know not what deuillish suggestion wrought thy reuolt) in an Epistle to *Eusebius*, if the authoritie of *Brentius* will passe for classicall, where thou couldst afford him the stile of πάνυ θεὸς μονογενὴς, *plenus Deus, vnigenitus*. and a little before that hee had his beginning, οὐ χρόνῳ οὐδὲ αἰῶνι—*ante tempora, ante sæcula*, why shouldst thou now then rip vp the wombe of Deitie, and enquire how hee was begotten? how borne? and when? as if thou laboredst to bastard his descent, and make it temporarie. Doe not, do not out of the custome of humane generation tie eternitie to time, or manner, and so at once vomit errour and blasphemie. Heare the voice of the Lord thundring vnto thee, *Cui me similem existimas?* who is like vnto mee, or to whom is the arme of the Lord reuealed? *Me ante montes generauit Dominus*, before the mountaines were settled, or the hils raised, I was brought forth. *Habeat ergo generationis inusitatæ gloriam, qui habet potestatis inusitatæ gratiam.* He that hath an vnwonted Iurisdiction in respect of power, it were a derogation too capitall to lessen his prerogatiue in way of birth; obserue what pompe he carrieth of antiquity, what descent, how deriued? by *Heraulds* of no meane ranke, a *King*, & a *Prophet*, and a Prophet that's a *King*, *I was set vp of old, from euerlasting*, Prou. 8. 24 *His goings forth haue beene from euerlasting*. Mich. 5. 2. *Thy throne is established of old, thou art from euerlasting*, Psal. 93. 2. Harke, from *euerlasting*, from *euerlasting*, from *euerlasting*, one ecchoing to another, as if the same pen had beene as well the directrix of the languages, as the truth. If thou shalt then hereafter ball an eternitie with a—*quando*, or a—*quomodo natus?* I goe one with the Father still, *Quid te ista quæstionum tormenta delectant? Audis Dei filium, aut dele nomen, aut agnosce naturã?*—*Queres* that are too nice rather torment the vnderstanding, than informe it, and are more

Ambros. 1. de fide, cap. 5.

Amb. vt sup.

more apt to puzzle our Iudgement, than to rectifie it. Subtilty of questions (I know not whether) it hath more conuinced, or begotten errour, or improued vs in our knowledge, or staggered vs. And hence I suppose was the substance of the Apostles aduice to the *Romanes*, *Hee that is weake in faith receiue you*; but not to doubtfull disputations, *Cap.* 14. 1. Curiosities of question haue euer beene the engines and stales to heresie, and therefore some of the Fathers haue nick-named *Philosophers* with an —*Hæreticorum Patriarchæ*—. It is no lesse a policy than right in sadder learning, to giue Diuinity the chaire, for if Arts with their subtle retinue once inuade it, sense and reason will hisse faith out of doores. And therefore we finde the same Apostle vehement in his —*Cauete ne vos seducat*, Beware lest any man *spoile you through Philosophy and vaine deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ*, Coloss. 2. 4. In matters of faith he that plaies either the Philosopher, or the criticke, displaies neither his Iudgement, nor his Religion, for *the kingdome of God is not in word, but in power*, 1 Cor. 4. 20. *Considera* (saith *Augustine*) *quod vocetur fidelis non rationalis*. Faith, not reason, is our anchor in this depth, and beleeue, not scruple, is our steersman to our port. Wisdome, I meane that which is worldly and leathered (as it were) with transitorinesse, must now stoope to simplicity, strength to weaknesse. How doth the Apostle iumpe with vs? *Hee hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and the weake things the mighty*, 1 Cor. 1. 27. Hence it is that the kingdome of heauen belongs vnto children, *Matth.* 19. 13. And God hath hid it from the prudent, and reuealed it to babes, *Matth.* 11. 25. And therefore *S. Augustine* makes a proud knowledge strike saile to a modest ignorance in his 188. *Ser. de Temp.* —*Meum est pie ignorantiam confiteri, quam temere mihi scientiam vendicare*. In sacred matters your nimble Criticismes are as ob-

Tertull.

noxious to desperatenesse, as danger; to be curious (here) is to be quaintly madde; and thus to thrust into the bedchamber of the Almighty is a franticke sawcinesse. Who can vnlocke those Coffers of omnipotency, *but hee that breakes in peeces the gates of Brasse, and cuts in sunder the barres of Iron?* Who those Cabinets of abstruser knowledge? but *he that giues thee the treasure of darknesse, and hidden riches of secret places?* How can our low built apprehensions but flag in the expression of such a birth, when wee finde a Prophet so transported with contemplation of it, that he dares the world with an Interrogation, —*Generationem eius quis enarrabit? Who shall declare his generation.* Esay 53. Yet we haue met with some supercilious and daring wits, which venture here to vntwist this mysterie of generation, as if they would calculate an eternal birth-right, leaning vpon the authority of *St Hierom* in his Commentaries vpon *Eccl.* 1. where hee asseuers, that in sacred Scriptures —*Quis* oftentimes is not put for an *impossibility*, but a *difficulty*. And he instances in this —*Quis*— of *Esay*, *Generationem eius quis enarrabit?* But *Lumbard* doth both vindicate and interpret the Father, thus, —*Non dicit quod generatio filij æterna*—. He saies not that this eternall generation of the sonne of God can descend to any mortall capacity in an absolute and full knowledge; but in some measure and degree, for so the Apostle doth peece-out our perfection here, *We are happy in part, and know onely in part*, not a haire, not a feather as we should. *Dic mihi* (saith *Augustine*) *altitudinem Cœli, profundum Abyssi, &c.* Shew me the height of Heauen, and the depth of Hell, number (if thou canst) the sands of the sea, the drops of raine, or the haires of thine owne head. Plane mee out by some perfect demonstration the truth of those things which grouell here below, and I will beleeue thy knowledge may aspire to those which are aboue; but thou hast no power of compassing the one, nor possibility in the atchieve-

Esay 45.2.

Idem, ibid.

Lib. 1. dist. 19.

Orat. contra Arrianos.

ment

ment of the other. For when all thy faculties of *vnderstanding, will,* haue fluttered so high as the wings of nature can eleuate and mount them to, yet thou wilt at last make vp the storie of *Icarus*, and finde that these are but waxen plumes, and will melt at the presence of those glorious beames, and so thy fall will be as dishonourable as thy attempt was peremptory; for if the great Doctour of the *Gentiles* (rapt vp into the third Heauen) said that hee heard words vnexpressable, which no tongue dared to vtter, how canst thou dissolue and vntie —*Paterna generationis Arcana*—(as *Ambrose* stiles them) those knots and Riddles of eternall generation, which can neuer bore a humane intellect, nor lie within the verge of mortall apprehension? *Mihi enim impossibile est generationis scire secretum* (saith the Father) *mens deficit, vox silet, non mea tantum, sed & Angelorum, supra potestates, & supra Cherubin, & supra Seraphin, & supra omnem sensum*, in his 1. *de fide ad Gratian. c.* 4. It is not then so much ambition in our desire, as madnesse, to attempt the knowledge of that where there is an impossibility of reuelation. Those enterprizes are temerarious and ouer-headstrong, which put on where there is not onely danger, but a despaire of conquest. How can reasonable man but lie buried vnder the weight of such a mysterie, at which those grand pillars of the Church haue not onely shooke but shrunke? How must wee be strucke dumbe when the tongues of Saints and Angels stutter? How our mindes entranced, when the glorious host of Heauen; & all those feathered *Hierarchies* shall clap their wings? All reasons tongue-tied, all apprehension non-plust, all vnderstanding darkened; so that I may now speake of this metaphoricall depth, as *Iob* did of that other naturall, —*Thou hast made a cloud the garment thereof, and thicke darknesse a swadling band.*

Mysteries carrie with them such an awe and Maiestie, as if they would be obeyed, not disputed, and assented to,

not controuerst. In secrets without bottome (such as carry the stampe of sacred) except faith holds vs vp like children we swimme without bladders, and must either dabble to the shore, or sinke, reason hath not an hand to lend vs. Faith and reason in respect of mysterie, are as a wheele and a bucket at a deepe well; faith hath both the power and safety of descent, and nimbly fathoms it, whilst reason wheele's, and rounds it, and is strangely giddied in a distracted *Gyre*. And indeed who durst

Esay 44.7. laue such an Ocean, but he *that sayes to the deepes be drie? or can shut vp the seas with doores, that they breake not out,*

Iob 38.8. *and say, hither shalt thou come, no further, there shall thy proud waues stay?* What eye that lookes on the Sunne,

Eccles.10.19. and dazels not, but he *that sees from euerlasting to euerlasting? and sends out lightning that they may come and goe, & say, here we are?* The star-gazer and bold figure flinger are at a stand here, why lookest thou vp thou proud Astrologer? you men of *Galilee*, why gaze you into heauen? Thus saith the Lord of hosts, he that form'd thee from

Esay 44.24,25. the wombe: *I am the Lord that maketh all things, that stretcheth out the heauens alone, that frustrateth the tokens of lyars, and maketh diuiners mad, that turneth wise men backwards, and maketh their knowledge foolishnesse. Now, O Lord, shalt haue them in derision, thou shalt laugh the heathen to scorne, for the sinne of their mouth, and the words of their lips they shall be taken in their pride, as the dust (O Lord) shalt thou driue and scatter them, and in thy wrath thou shalt consume them, that they may know that it is God that ruleth in Iacob, and to the end of the world.*

Arrius is now in his pompe and height of glory, and flourisheth like a greene bay-tree, anon looke after him, and hee is nowhere to be found. Hee is vp yet, but it is with the proud man in the *Psalmes, in slippery places*, and (anon) with him, how suddenly destroyed, perished, and brought to a fearefull end? The whole Easterne Church is now in a strange combusti-

on,

on, and her must kindle it, by and by those flames shall light him to his owne ruine. Heresie may root, and bud, and branch, and grow to a goodly height, but the hand of vengeance houers ouer it, and when it strikes, it sels it at a blow, and it comes downe like a pine from a steepe mountaine, which in the fall shatters both the branch and bodie. It is here, as with mists and fogs, which we see first rise as in a thin smoake from a low Fen or Valley, but gathering strength climbe the mountaine, and at last so thicken in one bodie of vapours, that they seeme to dare the Earth with a second night, till the Sunne (recouering height and power) by the vertue and subtiltie of his beames, doth dissipate and open them, and they are seene no more.

Will you haue a president? wee finde *Arrius* at first a meane Priest of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, a man keene and subtill, as well in wit as learning, *Specie & forma magis, quam virtute religiosus, sed gloriæ, & nouitatis improbe cupidus*, (saith *Ruffinus*) In vertue not so much refined, as in the deportment of the outward man, which promised a set grauitie, though no truth of Religion, in a thirst and pursuit of honour and noueltie, strangely violent, — *Dulcis erat in colloquio, persuadens animas, & blandiens.* In his discourse no lesse sweet than powerfull, and where he gaines no conquest by perswasion, he mines by flatterie; Thus by the sorceries & enchantments of a voluble tongue, simplicitie is betrayed, & vnder a pretext of truth, silly women (who are euer most affected with leuitie and change) are first led captiue; and these, for the enhancement & propagation of their new doctrine, commerce with their allies, and these tickled with new fancies, applaud the designe, enterraine the noueltie, conuenticles are both consulted on, and summoned, and in a short time, - *Septingentas virginitatis professas in vnam contraxit* — So *Epiphanius* —. Their Religion is yet in the blade, and greene onely in a few she-disciples, anon

Lib. 1.

Aduers. Haeres.

it growes vp by their league with others, *Eudoxius, Eunomius, Aetius* & *Demophilus, plura nomina, sed vna perfidia*; Coheires though not to the same title, the same villany; so that those dangerous tumults in the body of the Church, could not but now startle the Head and Gouernour. *Constantine* is informed of those pernicious and desperate proceedings, who cals a Councell of 318. Bishops for the condemnation of the Heretique. Some consultant in subtiltie of question (as there was neuer opinion so deformed, but found a Champion to propugne it) fauoured *Arrius*; but at length most of them decreed with one mouth Christ to be *ὁμοούσιος*, 17 a white sticke, fastned to the opinion of the Heretique, 11 whereof by the menacing of the Emperour subscribed, *Manu solum, non mente*, and the other 6 are now with *Arrius* vpon termes of exile; they betake themselues to *Palestina*, where partly by strength of Argument, partly by the insinuations of a smooth tongue, they gaine other Bishops to their opinion; anon, *Constantius* and *Valens*, Emperours; some they seduce by subtiltie, some by gifts, some by power, some by cruelties; those that affied constantly to the profession of Christs diuinitie, they inuade by persecution, and all the wittie tortures that malice or tyrannie could inuite, are now put in practice, for the torment of those professors; in so much that the hearts of their verie enemies, could not but thaw into pitie to heare the cries, but constancie of little children vnder the barbarous hands of their mercilesse tormentors. *Christianus sum, Christum verum Deum, credo, & adoro*, as the author in his *Historia tripartita de persequutione Vandalorum*.

Amb. 1. de fide, cap. 4.

This heresie now is full blowne, and at the growth; one Act more makes it ripe, and ready for the sickle. *Alexandria* is yet infected, and foule dregs of *Arrian* sme reigne not onely here, but in the neighbour Prouinces; In so much that *Alexander* (then Bishop) daily pestered with those damned innouations, on a Sunday,

(for

(for so my *Antiquarie* tells me) earnestly prayed that God would either take him away, lest he should be defiled with the like corruption, or that he would shew some miracle, either for the conuersion or confusion of the Heretique. Not long after, the desires of the holy man were accomplished, and in such a way of iudgement, that the relation would sure better with a ring of Scauengers than a noble throng, his bowels burst, as sometimes *Iudam*, *Et factus est medius eius, in gemitum & grauedinem*; his death was equally odious with his life, and that with the place he died in, no funeralls or pompe of exequies to embalme him, no hearse or winding sheet, but his own entrailes, and grauel vp with excrements, instead of earth, an end as odious as vnlikely, as if it proceeded from the hand of vengeance, and not Fate.

And so Saint *Ambrose* dilates on it — *Non est fortuita mors, sed in sarcina sua perpetua parile praestitit exemplum, vt eos sequerentur supplicium, qui eundem Dominum negarunt & eundem Dominum prodiderunt*. It is no casualty, but a destinated end, that in a like seruiledge, there should be a like example of punishment, and so both meeting one way of ruine, which hardened and betrayed their Master.

I haue now brought this heretique to his grauе, but the funeralls of this is the resurrection of another, and the resurrection of a third. No part of Christ (either in respect of his diuinitie or man-hood) but is the mint of a new heresie, which (if I should endeuour (here) either to confute or open) would proue an vnderaking fitter for a volume, than a discourse; and for a Librarie, than a volume. It cost the houres of an entire age, and the sweat and elaboratenesse of all the Fathers. Those few sands which are now in their constant course, will be runne out in the vesterdomination of *Marcionites*, *Valentinians*, *Hebionites*, *Apollinarians*, and the residue of that cursed rabble, and so I shall be cast vpon your censures, if

Epiphanius.

1 de fide, cap. 5.

if not as I haue beene weake, yet as I haue beene tedious. I will then open the mouthes of verie Heathens, and they shall both speake and confirme this truth, and no lesse appose our aduersaries than conuince them, an authoritie I know not how vnsauourie or vnseasonable to a diuided Auditorie, where a prophane quotation sounds sometimes as heathenish as a tradition, which in the verie name is cri'de downe as Apocryphall and Romanish; but I must put that vpon the hazard, not esteeming the froth either of popular censure or approbation.

Heathens indeed are little aboue the condition of beasts, if that onely actuate a man which animates a Christian, the soule of faith; yet if God please to cast his pearles before these swine, wherefore hath hee made vs Lords ouer them, but to vindicate those hallowed and pretious things from the hands of vniust possessors? *Preclara Ethnicorum dicta Theologica ab ijs, tanquam iniustis possessoribus, in vsum nostrum transferenda.* It is *Augustines* in his second booke *De Doctrina Christiana* 4. *chap.* Diuine truth in Heathen mouthes, is like the Iewels in Ægyptian hands, there wants no Alchymist to refine the metall, onely some discreeter Israelite to transferre the vse: he that was brought vp at the feet of *Gamaliel*, preaching to the ignorant Idolaters of *Athens*, concludes against them from the mouth of their owne Poets, —τῶν γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, as some of your owne Poets haue said, *Acts* 17.28. Text enough to gaine, I say, not authoritie, but applause to his discourse, and to conuince the Heathens shame, if not their faith. Diue with me a little further into their secrets, and we shall find amongst much *Hay* and *Stubble*, some *Gold* and *Pretious stones*, doctrines which want no truth to make them sound, onely diuine authoritie to make them authentique. It was not impossible that the true light which shines on euerie man that commeth into the world, should glimpse into those that *sate in darknesse, and in the shadow of death*; For old

Sim-

Simplicianus in S. *Augustines* Confessions 8. Booke 2. Chapter, giues incouragement to a particular enquiry, and concludes in certaine bookes of the Platonists —*Deum insinuari, & eius verbum*—. And of this *God*, and the *Word*, the very Philosophers were not ignorant, for wee meet with a *Hermes*, and a —*Zenon*, stiling the maker & orderer of the Vniuerse—λόγον—*The Word*—which they inlarge with other attributes of —*Fate, necessity, God*— and what sauours a little of a heathenish relique —*Animum Iouis*—taking—*Iupiter*— in the sense that they doe *God* as *Lactantius* in his 4. booke *de vera Sapient. cap. 9.*

But why doe we rob them of their maiden honour, and take their sayings vpon Tradition meerly? let them speake themselues in their peculiar and mother-tongue. *Numenius*, a famous Pythagorian (one, who twixt *Plato* and *Moses*, put no difference but of Language, calling *Plato-Moses*, *Attica Lingua Loquentem*,—*Moses* speaking the Atticke Dialect) *Deus primus* (saith he) *in seipso quidem existens, est simplex, propterea quod secum semper est, nunquam diuisus; Secundus, & tertius est vnus:* The first God is alwaies existent in himselfe, simple, indiuisible, the second and third one; and a little after, he calls this first God —*Creantis Dei patrem*,—*The father of the creating God.* Had they all adored what hee here acknowledged, a Trinity in vnity (so to be worshipped) I should then propose their precept not onely to be embraced, but their practice to be imitated. Search on, and loe that rich mine of Truth is not yet at her drosse, or bottome, for *Heraclitus* next, one who was wont to call S. *Iohn*, *Barbarian*, that Euangelist to whom belonged the Eagle, as well for sublimity of Stile, as Contemplation; he —*censet verbum Dei in ordine Principij, atque dignitate constitutum, apud Deum esse, & Deum esse, in quo quicquid factum sit, fuerit viuens, & vita, & ens, tum in corpora Lapsum, carnemque indusum, hominem apparuisse, ostendens etiam tunc naturæ suæ magnitudinem*; Harke

how the *Frog* chaunts like the *Nightingale*, (It is *Maximilians*, *Ethnici audiendi, non tanquam Philomelæ, sed Ranæ*) and curiously counterfeits her in euery straine? How closely this obscure Heathen sollowes not onely the Gospels truth, but the phrase too? *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and was God, all things were made by him, every liuing (creature, life, and thing, then this Word was made flesh, and appeared man,* and *even then shewed the glory of his nature.* How sweetly he warbles with his Barbarian, as if by an easie labour of Translation hee had bereft him both of Truth and Eloquence? I maruaile not now at that Testimony of *Basil the Great*, vpon those words, *In principio erat verbum——Hoc ego noui, multos etiam extra veritatis rationem positos*—I haue knowne many (saith he) and those put without the pale and list of diuine Truth, men meerly secular, aduancing and magnifying this peece of Scripture, and at length bold to mix it with their owne decrees and writings. And *S. Augustine* seconds it with an instance,—*Quidam Platonicus*,—A certaine Platonist was wont to say that *the beginning of S. Iohns Gospell was worthy to be written in letters of gold, and preached in the most eminent Churches and Congregations*, in his 10. book *de Ciuitate Dei, c.* 29. O the diuine raptures and infusions that God doth sometimes betroth to his very enemies! who can but conceiue that as the very worst of men haue knowledge enough to make them inexcusable; so the best of Heathen had enough to make them Saints, were their faith that he should be their Sauiour, as great as their knowledge, that he was the Sonne of God. With what rich Epithetes they bedecke and crowne him.—*Mentis Germen, Verbum Lucens, Dei Filius*, (it is his saying, who (I know not by what search) found out almost all Truth, *Mercurius Trismegistus*) *the mindes blossome, the word that gaue light, the sonne of God.* What else did *S. Iohn* adde, but that the word *was* light? And *S. Augustine* giues

giues this farther testimony of that heathen, that he spake many things of Christ in a prophetticke manne —*eadem veritate, licet non eodem Animi affectu*— with the same truth the Prophets did, but not with the same affection —*pronunciabat ista Hermes. Dolendo, pronunciabat hæc Propheta, Gaudendo*— in his 8. booke *de Ciuitate Dei*, 23. chapter. And why should we barre some of their Philosophers of a prophetticke knowledge, when a Poet shall fill his cheeckes with a—*Chara Deum Soboles, Magnum Iouis incrementum*—? And if wee looke backe to those Oracles of old, the *Sybills* sacred Raptures, wee shall finde them more like a Christians Comment, than a Heathens Prediction.

Tunc ad mortales veniet, mortalibus ipsis
In terris similis, natus Patris omnipotentis
Corpore vestitus—

Whereof if wee enquire a little into the originall, S. *Augustine* will tell vs that the Greeke copies giue vs, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Υἱὸς Θεοῦ Σωτήρ *Iesus Christ, the Sonne of God, the Sauiour*; and it is not only probable, but euident, that the Gentiles had a knowledge of Christ as hee was the *Word*, as it appeareth by that of *Serapis* vnto *Thulis, King of Ægypt*. And it is strangely remarkable, what wonderfull Titles and Inscriptions, the *Platonists* dedicate to his name and memorie, with which (as with a wreath and Lawrell) they girt & beautifie his Temples, -*Dei verbum, Mundi Opifex, Idea boni, Mundi Archetypũ, Moderator, Distributor, Imago primi entis, rationalis Creaturæ exemplar, Pastor, Sacerdos, Vlna humens, Lux, Sol, Cœlumque candens, mentis germen Diuinæ, Verbum Lucidum, Filius primogenitus, primi Dei semper viuentis Vmbra, Vita, Splendor, Virtus, Cander lucis, Character substantiæ eius*, and the like, which could not but flow from a heart diuinely toucht, and a tongue swolne with inspiration, as *Rosselus*

In oratione contra Arrianos.

Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, &c.

tels vs in his *Trismegisti Pimandrum*, 1 booke, 107. *page*. For these and the like sayings, some of the ancient Fathers haue coniectured that *Plato* either read part of diuine storie, or whilst he trauelled in Ægypt, had a taste of sacred truth, out of the sayings of the Hebrewes by an *Amanuensis*, or interpreter; For then many of the Hebrewes (the Persians reigning) wandered in Ægypt.

Moreouer, *Aristobulus* the Iew, who fleurished in the time of the *Machabees*, writing to *Ptolomie Philometora*, *King of Ægypt*, reports that the *Pentateuch* before the Empire of *Alexander* the Great, and the *Persian* Monarchie was translated out of Hebrew into Greeke, part whereof came to the hands of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*; and he is after peremptorie, that the *Peripateticks* out of the bookes of *Moses*, and the writings of the Prophets drew the greatest part of their Philosophy, and it may seeme strange what the Iewish Antiquarie traditions of *Clearchus* (the most noble of that Sect) who in his first — *De somno* — brings in his Master *Aristotle* relating that he met with a certaine Iew, a reuerent and a wise man, with whom he had much conference concerning matters both naturall & diuine, and receiued from him such a hint and specialty of choicer learning wch did much improue him in his after knowledge, especially in that of God, as *Iosephus li. 1. contra Appionem*, & *Eusebius* in his 11. *de preparat. Euangelica c. 6. Clement. Alexandrin. 5. Stromaton.*.

And thus I haue at length (though with some bloud and difficultie) trauersed the opinions of the ancient, and shewed you the errours of primitiue Times in their foulest shapes. I haue opened the wiles and stratagems of the aduersarie, and how defeated by the chariots of *Israel*, and the horsemen thereof; what Bulwarkes and Rampires the Fathers raised for propugning of Christs diuinitie, and how besieged by cursed heresies, with what successe, what ruine.

Let vs now returne where we began, and place Christ where

where we found him, before *Abraham*, before the world, where (me thinkes) he now ſtands like a well-rooted tree in a rough ſtorme, where though winds blow on him ſo furiouſly, that hee is ſometimes forced to the earth (as if he were meerely humane) yet he bends againe, and nods towards Heauen (to ſhew that hee is diuine, and but a plant taken thence grafted in our *Eden* here) where though toſt vp and downe with blaſts of Infidelitie, yet when the enuy of their breath is ſpent (as we ſee a goodly Cedar after a tempeſt) he ſtands ſtraite, vn-rent, as if he ſcorned the ſhocke of his late churliſh encounter, and dared his bluſtring Aduerſarie to a ſecond oppoſition.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

FINIS.

MOSES and AARON
OR
THE AFFINITIE OF Ciuill and Ecclesiasticke power.

A SERMON INTENDED *for the Parliament held at* Oxon, August. 7. 1625.

But by reason of the sudden and vnhappy dissolution, then, not preach't, but since vpon occasion, was, at S^t. MARIES in *Oxford*, the 26. of *February*, 1625.

BY
Humphry Sydenham, M^r. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed for IOHN PARKER.
1627.

TO MY MVCH DESERVING FRIEND AND BROTHER, FRANCIS GODOLPHIN, *Esquire*, *This.*

MY DEARE SIR,

Hil'st others declaime (too iustly) against the dull charities *of the* times, *and the* coldnesse of affection *in their* Allies *and* bloud, *I cannot but magnifie* their *worth, in* you, *where I haue met a* vertue, *scarce exampled by a second,* friendship in a Brother. *I thought it a high iniustice to smoother such a* miracle, *and therefore haue heere set it vpon*

record; *that, as the* age *may blush at her other* prodigies, *so glory beere, that she hath (at length) brought forth* one *who hath not lost either his* Nature *to his* alliance, *or* pietie *to his* Countrey. *A goodnesse seldome paralell'd in these dayes of ours, these degenerate dayes of ours, when we may finde a more* naturall *correspondence, a liuelier heat of affection, amongst those of sauage and barbarous condition, than in the bosome of our owne* Tribe *and* Nation. *But I may not taxe, when I am to salute, 'tis out of the roade of* gratulation; *this is intended so, A meere* declaration *of my* thankfulnes *for all those your* noble *Offices of a* reall Brotherhood, *which though I haue not* power (*as yet*) *to* satisfie, *I shall haue euer* will *to* acknowledge, *and in that* loialty *I persist,*

Your most respectfully engag'd,

HVM: SYDENHAM.

Moses and Aaron

Or

The affinitie of Ciuill and Ecclesiasticke power.

EXOD. 4. 12.

Goe, and I will be in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say.

HOw strangely God compasses what he proiects for his, by the hands of an obscure Agent? *Israel* hath been long enough vnder the groanes of *Ægypt*, it shall be now vnyoakt from that heauie seruitude; and this must be done by no trodden meanes, or ordinarie instrument: But one that *Israel* and *Ægypt* too shall stand amaz'd at to see in such a power of substitution, *A shepherd*. *Moses* a feeding

Cap. 3. v. 9, 10.

Cap. 3. 8.

ding his fathers flocke not farre from *Horeb*, the mountaine of the Lord, when suddenly a voice doth at once astonish and inuire him, *Moses, Moses.* 'Tshould seeme the affaires were both of necessitie and dispatch, when the person to bee imployed was thus prest by a double summons: what shall hee doe now? *His flocke* must bee *left with Iethro in Midian*, and he shall *to Court*, there to ransome an engag'd and capriu'd Nation, from the shackles of a Tyrant; A simple designe for one season'd in the course conditions of an *Hebrew* and a *Midianite*: Men knowne more by the largenesse of their folds, than any eminence for matters of state, most of them being herdsmen, or shepherds. But see how God will extract wonders out of improbabilities, and miracles out of both: *Moses* shall first see one, & then do many. *Behold an Angell of the Lord in a flaming fire in a bush, the bush burned* (saith the Text) *and the Bush was not consumed.* A vision as strange as the proiect he is now set vpon, and doth not so much take, as stagger him. That it burned and consumed not, rauishes his eies only, how it should burn & not consume, his intellectuals; So that he is now doubly entranced, in the sense, & in the thought. But there is more of mysterie inuolu'd here than the Prophet yet dreames of or discouers. God in his affaires requires both heat & constancie: men of cold and languishing resolution are not fit subiects for his imployments, but those which can withstand the shocke of many a fierie triall; they whose zeale can burne cheerefully in the seruices of their God, and not consume. *Moses* therefore shall now to *Pharaoh*, with as many terrours as messages. Ten times hee must bid the Tyrant let *Israel* goe: euerie Iniunction shall find a repulse; euerie repulse, a plague; and euerie plague, a wonder. Somewhat a harsh embassie to a King, and cannot be welcom'd but with a storme, whose disposition is as impatient of rebuke, as not inur'd to't. Those eares which haue beene sleekt hitherto with the supple dialect of

Cap. 3. 1.
Cap. 3. 4.
Cap. 4. 18.
Cap. 2. 17.
Cap. 3. 2.
Cap. 3. 3.
Cap. 5. vers. 6, 7, 8, 9.

of the Court, (that oyle of Sycophants and Temporizers) will not bee rough'e now with the course phrase of a reproose, much lesse of menacing. There's no dallying with the eye of a Cockatrice; I am sure none, wth the paw of a Lyon; Ruine sits on the brow of offended Soueraignetie, each looke sparkles indignation, and that indignation, death. *Moses* is now startled at the imployment, and begins both to expostulate and repine. —*Who am I that I should goe vnto Pharaoh? I am not eloquent, but of slow speech and of a slow tongue—?* Good Lord! In a Prophet what a peece of modestie with distrust? will God employ any whom hee will not accommodate? Hee hath now thrice perswaded *Moses* to this great vndertaking. The other as often manifests his vnwillingnesse by excuse, as if he would either dispute Gods prouidence, or question his supply. Wee finde therefore this diffidence check't with a new insinuation of rectifying all defects. —*Who hath made mans mouth, or who makes the dumbe, or the deafe, or the seeing, or the blinde, haue not I the Lord?* Why should any further scruple or doubt assaile thee? I that am the God of the *Hebrewes* will protect thee; let no wauerings of *Israel*, or terrours of *Egypt* any way dismay thee: particular infirmities in thine owne person I will mould anew to perfection, or if those vacillations and stutterings of the tongue yet dishearten thee, *Loe Aaron the Leuite is thy brother, I know that he can speake well, take him with thee, and this rod too*, wherewith thou shalt doe wonders, as dreadfull as vnpattern'd. Deliuer *Pharaoh* roundly my commands, if hee will not vndeafe his eare vpon the first Alarum, I will bore it with my thunder. Why standest thou then any longer so diuided? *Goe now, and I will bee in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say—.*

Cap. 3. 11.
Cap. 4. 10.
Cap. 4. 10.
Cap. 14. 14.

Moses is dispatch'e now, hath his Commission seal'd, each particle of his message punctually deliuered him,

Diuision.

wherein (as in all secular and subordinate Embassies) we finde *a Command, a Direction, and a Promise.* The *Command, Goe*; The *Promise, I will be in thy mouth*; The *Direction, Teach thee what thou shalt say.* So hee that is singled out to any seruice of his God for the aduantage of his Israel, must not giue back or wauer, *Goe*—. If a willing obedience second this command, God promises to assist, *I will bee in thy mouth*; if there, be not dash'at the slownesse or vnprouidednesse of thy speech, *I will teach thee what thou shalt say.* Once more is there a retired worth, which desires to sit downe to obscuritie, and seemes vnwilling to the publike seruices of his God, heareſt thou not this *proficiscere* from Heauen? *Goe*, But hast thou once vndertooke them? bee not discourag'd, here's an—*aperiam*, too—. *I will be in thy mouth*; but am I welcom'd there with reuerence and awe? speake boldly then, for, *Ego instruam, I will teach thee what thou shalt say*—, *Goe then.* But let's first cleare the passage. 'Tis not my intent to shew you *Moses* here in the stormes and troubles of the *Court* and *State*, but of the *Church*. I may not bee too busie with the *riddles* and *Labyrinth's* of the two first; the times are both rough and touchie, I will onely shew you a farre off, how this *Proteus* and that *Camelion* varie both their *shape* and *colour*. *Moses* was indeed fortie yeeres a *Courtier*, and the better *part* of his life a *Statesman*, yet he was a *Priest* too (and so I follow him) if you dare take the authoritie of Saint *Augustine*, who though in his second booke on *Exod. to. quæst.* giues *Moses* barely *Principatum*; and *Ac[illegible]sterium*; yet in his Commentaries on the 98. *Psal.* he thus interrogates, *Si Moses Sacerdos non erat, quid erat? numquid maior Sacerdote?* and the sweet Singer of *Israel*, puts *Samuel* among them that *call vpon Gods name*, and *Moses* and *Aaron* amongst the *Priests*, *Psal.* 99. 6.— I haue now remou'd all rubs and obstacles, the way is smooth and passable, what should then hinder *Moses* any longer, *Goe*,—.

Aug. lib. 2. in Exod. quæst. 10.
Aug. in Psal. 98.

Com-

Command and *obedience* are the *body* and *soule* of *humane society*, the *head* and *foot* of an *establisht Empire*. *Command* sits as *Soueraigne*, and hath three Sceptres, by which it rules, *Authority*, *Courage*, *Sufficiency*. Part 1.

Obedience, as 'twere the *subiect*, and beares vp it's allegiance with three pillars, *necessitie*, *profit*, *willingnesse*. Sometimes *Command* growes impetuous and rough, and then 'tis no more *Soueraigntie* but *Tyranny*—. Againe, *Obedience*, vpon distaste, is apt to murmure, and growes mutinous, and so 'tis no more a *subiect*, but a *Rebell*; where they kisse mutually, there is both strength and safety; but where they scold and iarre, all growes to ruine & combustion. And this holds not onely in matters Ciuill, but in those more sacred. *Command* frõ heauen presupposes in vs an obedience no lesse of necessity, than will, and in God, infallibility both of power, and incouragement. Faintnesse of resolution, or excuse, in his high designments, are but the Tetsales of a perfunctory zeale, howeuer they pretend to bashfulnesse, or humility. *I cannot speake Lord*, or, *I am vnworthy*, were but course apologies of those that vsed them, when God had either matter for their emploiment, or time; And the *Quis ego Domine?* of *Moses*, here, findes so little of approbation, that it meets a checke; the Text will tell you in what heat and tumult, with an —*Accensus furor Iehouæ*, the anger of the *Lord* was kindled against *Moses*, and it should seeme, in such violence, that *Abulensis*, after much trauerse and disputes, makes that tergiuersation of his litt'e lesse than a *mortall sinne*, & some of the *Hebrewes* haue strangely punisht it, *with the losse of Canaan*, perswading vs, the maine reason why he came not thither, was his backwardnesse in obeying this —*proficiscere*, *Goe*. But that's a *Thalmudicall* and wilde fancie, fitter for such giddy enrolements, than the eares of a learned throng. And as *Moses* may not but obey when God layes his command on him, so hee must not *goe* without it. *Matthew* must be *called*

Ier. 1.

Rom. 1. Exod. 3.

Cap. 4. 4.

Tostatus in Exod.

Pererius in Exod.

from

Matth.9.9. Galat.1.5.

from his receipt of customes, & he is not honor'd with a true Apostleship, who wants his —*vocatus sicut Aaron.* That of God to the Pseudo-prophets, was a searefull Iron, —*I sent them not, but they ranne*—, voluntaries (it should seeme) finde here neither countenance, nor entertainement, but whom God hath prest and sealed to this great warfare; yet the other notwithstanding, in the field, and seasoned once in battell, the retrait is more dangerous, than the aduenture.

Ierem.14.

Essay cap.6.

We finde *Esay* more actiue and forward than any of the *Prophets*, & yet that sponeaneousnesse not chid; who (as if he would anticipate the care and choise of God in his owne affaires) makes a hastie tender of his seruice, with an —*Ecce ego, mitte me*; yet he had his former conuulsions, and pangs too of feare and diffidence; *Woe is mee, for I am a man of polluted lips.* But see how God hammers and workes what hee intends to file, either in person, or by substitute? an *Altar* must be the *Forge*, and a *Seraphin* the *workman*, who with his *tongs ready*, and *his coale burning*, shall both *touch* those iniquities, and *purge them*, and then, and not till then, *heere am I, Lord, send me.* As therefore to stand still, when God sends out his *proficiscere*, argues a rusty and sullen lazinesse, so to runne when he sends not, arrogancy and presumption. That zeale is best qualified, which hath the patience to expect God's *summons*, and then the boldnesse to doe his errand.

5
8
5
7

Aquin.2ª.2æ. qu.185.art.1.

The Schooleman in his 2ª. 2æ. 185. *question*, being to decide of religious persons, straines not the *Myter* from his discourse, but moderates the *quere* by dividing it, and thinkes to take away *all* scrupule by making *two*, *whether it be lawfull to desire Ecclesiasti. all honour* (Episcopall his Epitheres) *or to refuse it being enioyned?* *Gregorie de Valentia* (his *Amauuensis* here) turnes the perspectiue from the *obiect* vpon the *Agent*, viewing as well the *partie desiring* as the *thing desired*, where, though hee descrie

Greg. de Valin. in loc. Aquin. dist. 10.q.3.par.2.

height

height of sufficiency in personall endowments: one *Cap-A-Pe, in all points canonicall*, yet he allowes not *a hair for his eager appetite to feed on*; a disopinion'd vnder-valued man may *not desire it for the dignity*, nor he that's fortune-trodden *for the revenue*. Be the person otherwise ne're so compleatly accommodated, yet the *irregularity in his appetite strangles his other eminencies, and (o he is (at once) vnworthy, and vncapable. Reason* and *conscience*, will betroth *Honours* to *desert*, which yet they *divorce* from the *immodesty* and *heat* of the desire; for, *if super-intendencie be in the appetite more than the office, 'tis presumption. Aquinas* doth censur't so, a common practise of the Gentiles, reproou'd in the Disciples; *Ye know their Princes lord to dominare*, Mat. 20. *of the honour be superiour, 'tis ambition, and so especially pharisaicall. —They love the vpper-most roomes at feasts, and chiefe seats at Synagogues*, Matth. 23. If the *revenue*, it allies to *covetousnesse*, and differs from the sinne of *Simon Magus* thus, he proffer'd money for the gifts, these couet the gifts for the money.

Quæst. 1.

Aquinas vt sup.

Matth. 23.

On the other side, reject the *Ephod* wherewith authority would inuest thee, checkes doubly the refuser, in wayes of *charity, humility*, *Charity seekes not more her own, than her neighbour's good*, how the charity we owe vnto our selues, prompts vs to search out —*Otium sanctum* (as *Augustine* phrases it) a holy vacancie from these publikes cares, but thereto the Church bindes vs to vndergoe —*Negotium iustum*, the imposition of any iust employment, —*quam suscipiens si nolens imponitur, intuenda vocationis veritate, si autem imponitur, sustinenda est propter charitatis necessitatem*; the Father in his 19. *de Civit. Dei, cap.* 19. Againe, *humility* ties vs in obedience to Superiours, so that as often as we disobey them we doe oppugne it, and thus (in respect of God) is not *meekness*, but *pertinacy*. —*Tunc ante Dei oculos vera est humilitas, cum id respiciendum hoc quod utiliter subire præcipitur*,

Quæst. 2.

Aquin. & Greg. vt sup.

Aug. 19. de Civit. Dei, cap. 19.

Mag. Gregor. 1. pars Past. cap. 6.

cipitur, pertinax non est—, *Gregorie* 1. part of his Pastorals 6. Chapter.

To auoyd then all occasions of publike seruice for the Church, vnder a pretence of humilitie or reclusenesse, speakes (too broadly) the delinquent, *refractarie*. Your *Anchoret* that digges his graue in *speculation* meerely, and your Moale that is earth'd wholly in an affected solitarinesse, are not liable so properly to *obscuritie*, as *death*; such *elaboratnes* tends not to *perfection*, but *disease*; & we finde an *Apoplexie*, and *sleepe*, no lesse on their *endeuours* than in their *name*; all knowledge is dusted with them, and 'tis no more a *nurserie* of vertues, but a *Tombe*. And (indeed) such *Silkewo mes* spin themselues into *Flies*, disanimate, heartlesse *Flies*, life neither for *Church* nor *Common-wealth*. The Laurell and honour of all secular designes, is the execution, and the happinesse of those sacred ones, is not entail'd barely to the *knowledge* of them, but to the *fac & vines*. And that, not at *home* onely in thy particular intendments, but *abroad* also in thy seruices for the Church; so that hee that retraits at any Alarum or Summons of his God, for the common affaires of the Church, to hugge and enioy himselfe in his solitarie ends, runnes himselfe on the shelues of a rough censure, that of the Father to his *Dracontius*, —*Vereor ne dum propter te fugis, propter alios sis in periculo apud Dominum*. To stand by, and giue aime onely, whil'st others shoot, and thou thy selfe no markman, proclaimes thy lazinesse, if not thy impotencie. What a *nothing* is thy *arme*? thy *bow*? thy *shaft*? if not *practised*, not *bent*, not *drawne vp*? or if so glorious a marke, the *Church*? why not *leueld* at? either she must bee vnworthy of thy trauell, or thine of her. If therefore this thy Mother implore thy aid (so *Augustine* counsels his *Eudoxius*) on the one side, hand nor with ambition; on the other, leaue not to a lazie refusall, *weigh not thine owne idlenesse with the necessities and greatnesse of her burthens, to which (whiles she is so trauell)*

Athan. in Epist. ad Drac. Episc. fugient. part. 2. editio vltima.

Aug. epist. 81.

if

if no good men will administer their helps, Certè quomodò nos eremus non inueniretur; God must then inuent new wayes for our new birth: the Father in his 81. Epistle *ad Eudoxium*.

You see then our *Moses* may not hastily thrust himselfe vpon those weightie designes without authoritie and commission from his God, and yet once summon'd, not recoile; but thus hauing his *Congedeleere* and warrant from aboue, wee must now account him in the place of God; *Godindeed*, with a—*sicut*—the Text tels vs so, thrice tels vs so, *God to Aaron, God to Israel, God to Pharaoh*, 'Twere then too high a sacriledge, to rob him of any title or prerogatiue, which should wait on the greatnesse of such a person. Let's giue him (what all ages haue) *Eminencie of place, Office, their Attendants, Honour, Reuenue*. I shall dwell my houre with the two first, with the latter only, *in Transitu*, and vpon *the by*, they being inuolued in the two former. And that I may punctually go on, I will touch first (where I should) with the *Eminencie*—*Gee*.—

Exod. 3. 4, 5.

Which as it was sacred in the first enstallment, so in the propagation most honourable to the times of *Heathens*. For *Tertullian* (speaking of the magnificence and pompe which attended their superstitions) tels vs, that *their doores, and Hoasts, and Altars, and dead, and* (what glorifies all) *their Priests were crown'd*: in his *Corona militis, cap.* 10. And the first *crowne* which the *Romanes* vsed, was the *spicea Corona*, given as a religious Ensigne, in honour of their *Priests*.—*Honosque is, non nisi vita finitur, & exules etiam, captosque comitatur*—sayes my *Historian*, noughe but death could terminate this honour, which was their companion both in *exile* and *captiuitie*. They wore the name of *Aruales Sacerdotes*, first instituted by *Romulus*, and *Acca Laurentia* his Nurse, who of her twelue sonnes hauing lost one, he himselfe made vp the number with that title. But here's not all,—*Terminorum sacrorum, & finium, iureys terminandis praerant*.

Eminen. 1. par.

Tert. de Coron. militis cap. 10.

Plin. lib. 8. cap. 2.

Alex. ab Alex. lib. 1. cap. 16.

& interueniebant, they were the *peace-makers* of the time, and sate as Arbitrators in matters of contestation betweene man and man, as the great Naturalist in the 18. booke of his Historie, 2. chapter. And who fitter for such a morall office than the *Priest?* an *honour* which these worst of times allow him, though with some turbulencie, and indignation: *Moses and Aaron, you take too much upon you*, was the crie of a *Iew* once, so 'tis now, who would manacle and confine them onely to an *Ecclesiasticke power*, and deuest them quite of any *ciuill authoritie*, though *Moses* here had both. But 'twas not without some shew of *mysterie*, that in the *robes of Aaron* (I instance now in him, lest perchance they should cauill with his brother *Moses*) *there was a crowne set vpon the Miter*, moralizing a possible coniunction at least of Minister and Magistrate in one person. And *Chytraeus* hath a patheticall obseruation from the Apostles ἀποτομίαν διυίδε araqhe, that the Metaphor was first taken from the manner of *cutting* or *diuiding* the *vicmbers of the host*, Leuit. 7. where the *fat and kidneies were burnt as a sacrifice to God, but the breast and the shoulder were given to the Priests*: the Allegorie carries with it both weight and maiestie, here's a *breast* for *counsell*, and a *shoulder* for *supportation* in matters of *gouernment*. And no doubt in times of old (euen these of the Fathers) *the Sacerdotall power*, was at a great height, in equall scale with that of their honour, which was so eminent, that Saint *Ambrose* rankes not the *Miter* with the *Diadem*, but in a *zealous Hyperbole* (pardon the Epithete) *preferresit*, and makes this comparatiuely to the other *as a sparkle to a flame, or dull Lead to burnisht Gold*, in his *de dignitate Sacerdotali cap. 2.*

Plin. vt sup.

Numb. 16. 3.

Exod. 29. 6.

2 Tim. 2.

Chyt. de ordin. minist. pag. 506.

Si Regum fulgori & principum Diademati inferius est quam si plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem compares, Ambr. ib. d.

I may not follow the Father in his *priestly Panegyricke*, 'tis too high, and borders too much on the discipline of the *triple crowne*, such a crowne as ne're yet girt the temples of *King* or *Priest*, but of him that trampled on the

necke

wecke of both; let such insolence made the right of *Potentates*, and spurne their *Crownes* and *Scepters* in the dust, whilst we seat our *Aaron* at the beck of *Moses*, but the people too at that of *Aaron*: Let the *Priesthood doe obeysance*, and kisse the feet of *Soueraignitie*; but let not the *Laitie* turne the heele, and kicke against the sacrednesse of *Priesthood*. *S. Augustine* vpon these words of God to *Moses*, — *Tu eris illi in ea quæ ad Deum*, — *He shall be to thee in stead of a mouth, and thou shalt be to him in stead of God*, seemes entrance'd a while, and bringing them to the ballance, and weighing precisely euery scruple, cries out, *Magnum Sacramentum enim figuram gerat*, as if *Moses* were a *medium* *betweene God and Aaron, and Aaron betweene Moses and the people*. The morall is plaine, *Soueraignitie stands betweene God and the Priesthood, and the Priesthood betweene Soueraignitie and the people*. Howeuer the Ceremonies due to either heretofore, in matters of Instaulement, stood not at such *enmitie* as we can say *they differ'd*, they were both *anointed*, and both *crown'd*; and though the authoritie were vnequall in respect of *place*, yet not of *employment*, *Ye are full of power by the spirit of the Lord*, Micah 3. 8. And *Elisha* could once tell the King, *He should know there was a Prophet in Israel*, 2 King. 5. 8. And in matters of preseruation God was as zealous for the safetie of these as them, — *Touch not mine anointed, and doe my Prophets no harme*, Psal. 105.

Exod. 4. 16.

Aug. lib. 2. Exod. 10. quæst.

But let not my *zeale* to the *Priest* dispriuiledge my *alleagiance* to my *King*. I speake not this to set vp *Moses* in competition with *Pharaoh*, or riuall the dignitie of the *Priesthood* with that of *Soueraignitie*; but to minde you in what lustre it sometimes shin'd, and how the times now conspire to cloud that glory.

The dayes haue beene, when the *Laicke* was ambitious, not only of the *title* of a *Priest*, but the *office*: for *Eusebius* examples in many of them, who thrusting vpon Bishops of primitiue times, *Statim concionandi munus obierunt*,

obierunt, in his *lib. 6. cap. 15.* And *Tertullian* (speaking of the insolencies and taunts which the *Laity* then put vpon the *Priesthood*) tells vs that they *iustified* their malice & iniuries to the *Priest*, by *vsurping the name*, or prophaning rather, —*Quum extollimur & inflamur aduersus clerum, tunc omnes Sacerdotes, quia Sacerdotes nos Deo, & Patri fecit, quum ad peraequationem disciplinæ Sacerdotalis prouocamur, deponimus infulas, & pares sumus*; in his booke *de Monogamia, cap. 12.*

Tert. lib. de Monog. cap. 12.

It should seeme then the *office* and *name* past honourably thorow all ages, euen those of *Infidels*, though the *person* were sometimes exposed to the persecutions of the time, and suffered vnder the blasphemies of vnchristian tongues; but now the very *title* growes barbarous, and he thinkes he hath wittily discountenanced the greatnes of the calling, that can baffle the *professour* with the name of *Priest*. But these, whil'st they intend to wound, they honour vs, and wee account them no scarres, but *glories*. Let such children mocke on the Prophet, the euent (I believe) will proue as horrid as that of old, will you tremble to heare it spoken? you may reade it then, and looke pale too, in 2 *King.* 2. 24.

Office 2.

May it please you now, turne your eyes from the *dignity*, and reflect vpon the *office*. The *office*, a taske indeed, such a one as should rather prouoke our *endeauours*, than *appetites*. *If any man desire the office of a Bishop* (let's awhile leaue the word *Priest*, and fasten vpon this, the authority may beare it out the better) *desires a good worke*, 1 Tim. 3. 1. *Quia nomen operis est, non honoris* (as *Augustine* glosses it) 'tis a name of *worke*, not *honour*; a *worke* no lesse fearefull, than laborious, no where better figur'd than by *Moses*, here, to *Pharaoh*, repriuing *Israel* from *Egypt*, from which 'tis scarce any way differenc'd, but in the difficulty, and therein it exceeds the *type*; difficulty worthy the trauells of the best, were not those labours

1 Tim. 3. 1.

Lib. 19. Ciuit. Dei cap. 19.

shoulder'd

shoulder'd and thrust on by vaine-glory. *Istac cathedra cupientem se, & audaciter expetentem, non requirit, sed ornatum, sed eruditum*—. So *Valentia* vpon *Aquine*.—This *chaire of Moses* is no seat of ambition, but desert, it hates either an intruder, or pursuer; He that gaines it by couetousnesse, or bold desire, doth not possesse, but inuade it, and 'tis not so much his by right of inheritance, as vsurpation.

Greg. de Valent. in 2.2. dist. 10 q. 3. part. 2.

These honors fawne only vpon humble worths, men clad & harnessed with double eminency, of life, of learning, those whose vertues haue aduanc'd them aboue the ordinary leuell and pitch of popularity. Yet to these neither without this *proficiscere*—to *Moses*, *Gee*. *Clemens* in his first Epistle, will persuade you: 'tis the conclusion of Saint Peter. *Augustine* goes further, —*Locum superior sine quo populus regi non potest, et si administretur vt decet, tamen indecenter appetitur*—. Suppose the man worthy of this place of *Eminency*, and comes home in matters of *administration*, yet he is to blame in those of *appetite*, for the *desire* laies open his *vnworthinesse*, and the Schoolman will not flatter him, but concludes it plainely for a *mortall sin*. And if we may guesse at the child by the parent, it best countenanceth *lenity*, or *arrogance*, neuer read to be the proper seeds of any vertue. Notwithstanding this *desire* (sometimes) comes not within the compasse of presumption, if the *worke* be the obiect of our appetite, and not the *honour*, or, if the *honour*, not the *reuenew*. —*Appetere celsitudinem Episcopalem, non est semper præsumptio, sed Appetere Episcopatum, rationes celsitudinis, appetit enim celsitudinem, supra dignitatem*—*Gregory* will haue it so. Howeuer, if it please you to glance on my former quotation from the Apostle, 'twill not so much whet your appetite, as grauell it; for first *Beza* limits the desire, *If any man desire?* and 'tis not meant —*de ambitu*— of the appetite, or ambition to get the See, but *de animo*, of the earnest desire to benefit the Church, or admit

Lib. 19. de ciuit. Dei, cap. 19.

Greg. de Valent. vt supra.

Part. 1. Pastor. cap. 8.

1 Tim. 3. 1.

Beza in locum.

mit the words will carry that interpretation, yet the commendation which is annexed truces with the *worke*, not the *desire*, —*Bonum opus desiderat*—, not —*bene desiderat*—, though it be good what he desires, yet hee doth not well to desire it. Men vnworthy of what they sue for, onely because they sue for it. And this in Primitiue times hath occasioned in many no lesse a modestie than vnwillingnesse in those sacred vndertakings, when the Fathers, with a kind of reluctancie and feare, were towed on to these high imployments. Nay some, whether through maiestie of the place, or roughnesse of the times, or guilt of their owne weaknesse, haue panted and breath'd short in their desires to this great enterprise, and at length exchang'd the honour for an exile. *Nazianzen* flies into *Pontus*; *Dracontius*, into the skirts of *Alexandria*, and it is tradition'd me by *Aquinas*, (and he quotes Saint *Ierome* for it) that Saint *Marke cut off his thumbe, Vt Sacerdotio reprobus haberetur*— They are the Schoolemans owne words in his 2°. 2a. *quæst.* 185. *Artic.* 1. But 'twill not be amisse here to take Saint *Ambrose*— *quamuis notandum*— with vs; that these things were done in the Churches great extremities, when he that was —*primus in presbyterio*, was —*primus in Martyrio*. 'Twould require the temper of a braue *resolution*, and a better *zeale*, to *desire* this *Bonum opus*, when 'twas made the touchstone and furnace of mens faith and constancie, not only in leading others to the stake, but their own suffering where they were to be a voluntary *Holocaust*, and sacrifice to the Church, there to remaine a monument of their *Religion*, and others *tyrannie*.' Tis true, Histories haue furnisht vs with examples of some which haue renounc't an Empire, and (which is strange) a Popedome; *Diocletian* did one, and *Celestinus*, t'other. The times (we may suppose) were blustring, and the reuenewes thin at *Rome*, when the honor of the chaire was at once not desir'd and scorn'd. No proiect now vnsifted, no stratagem vndig'd for;

Greg. Naz. in præfat. Apol. Athan. in epist. ad Dracont. Episc. sug. vt Gloss. in prim. Euang. Marc.

Part. 2 pass. c. 3.

for; no reach of policie vnfathom'd for the compassing of that great *See*, though by sinister, though by deuillish attempt, nay, that's the chiefe engine by which it works. *Tiberius* could once tell a Prince of the *Celts*, that *Rome had a sword for her conquest, not an Apothecaries shop*; now they are both too little; *Sword, and poyson, and massacre, and pistoll, and knife, and powder*, for the purchase (or at least the strengthening) of the *Triple Crowne*.

And I would *Machiauell* had rendeuouz'd only in Iesuited Territories, and not knockt at the gates of Protestant Dominions; 'tis to be fear'd he hath Factors neerer home, those which not only know the backdoores to the Staffe and Miter, but are acquainted with the locke, which if they cannot force or picke, by the finger of policie or greatnesse, they turne with that golden key, which at once opens a way to a purchas'd honour, and a ruine.

Ambition, whither wilt thou? nay, where wilt thou not? to the pinacle of the Temple for the glorie of the world, though thou tumble for it to thy eternall ruine.

The Greeke Philosopher will beg of the Gods, that *he may behold the Sunne so neere, as to comprehend the forme, beautie, greatnesse of it, and afterwards hee cares not if he burne*, as if there were no such Martyrdome, as what *Ambition* fires. *Occidar modò imperet*—, was the resolution of *Agrippina* for her *Nero*; but loe, how the euent crownes the vnsatiatenesse of her desires? He gaines the kingdome, and first dig'd out those bowels which had fostered him, and then that heart which was the throne of such an aspiring thought; crueltie shall I call it, or iustice, when the vaine-glorie of the mother was penanc'd with the vnnaturalnesse of the son. Thus loftie mindes (furnisht with a strong hope of the successe of their designes) haue embark't themselues into great actions, and proposing humane ends, as scales to their high thoughts, haue bin wafted into strange promotions, but after they haue (a while) spangl'd in that their firmament

Eudoxus.

Tacit. Annal.

of honour, they become falling starres, and so the successe proues as inglorious as the enterprise was bold and desperate. Wee haue seldome met with any eminencie that was sudden and permanent: Those which in their *dawne* of *Fortune breake* so gloriously, meet with a storme at *noone*, or else a *cloud* at *night*. The Sunne that rises in a *grey* and *sullen* thorne, *sets* cleerest; and indeed *ambition* is too hastie, and is hurried violently to the end it aimes at, without caueloufnesse and circumspection to the meane; but humilitie hath a calme and temperate pace, and stoopes it along in a gentle posture, yet at length attaines her marke, but slowly, as if it went vnwilling to honour, and slighted those proffers which others suetor. *Lentie Scipio Africanus and Marcus Portius* (you know whose 'tis, *Traianus* to *Plutarch*) *more for contempt of offices, than the victories they haue wonne, because a Conqueror for the most part is in Fortunes power, but the contempt of offices lies in prudence.* Will you heare the paraphrase? *Tacitus* giues it, *Sapientibus cupido gloriæ nouissima exuitur*—. Wise men are so little in the drift of honor that they loath the sent, 'tis the vanitie they last put off, and there was a time when a modest refusall of them was no by-way to them; for this shadow once followed, flies; but fled, followes—*primatus fugientem desiderat, desideratum horret*, sayes the Father. 'Tis a tricke of primacie to fawne where 'tis not croucht to, but looke coy where it's ouer-courted, like some weather-cocks, which in a constant and churlish wind beake fairely towards vs, but in a wanton blast turne taile.

Chrys. Hom. 35. in Matth.

Hence it is, that in matters of authoritie and preheminence, pride hath for the most part the foile, humilitie the conquest; that stoopes basely to the title, or the profit, and loses either; this in a modest distance keepes aloofe, till worth inuite it, and at length gaines both: so that it is in wayes of promotion, as in some water-works, whereone Engine raises it to make it fall more violently,

another

another beats it downe that it might mount higher. The aduice then of S. *Peter* comes seasonably here, —*Humble your selues vnder the mightie hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time.* The words are not without their strength of emphasis, here is an —*humiliamini*—crown'd with an —*vt exaltet*, humble your selues, that he *may* exalt, as if *humilitie* were so necessarie a disposition to preferment, that without it God might not exalt. But soft, Impostor; Thou which iuggleſt both with God & with the times, I call not that *humilitie* which is ty p'd in the downefall of the looke, or the affected cringe and posture of the bodie; but the knee of the inward man, wch the Wiseman of old called, *The character of an holy soule, leading noble hearts slowly to the feasts of friends, but speedily to their succour in calamities*; So that true meeknesse is retinu'd with a double worth, *Charitie, Resolution*; And the Philosopher will tell you, 'tis *A vertue belongs to the courageous part of the soule, seated betweene two base extremes, Pusillanimitie, Arrogance.* No *Buffone*, and yet no *Buffler*, supporting sometimes iniuries, not out of *cowardice*, but *patience*, allaying all tumults and instigations of the soule, to *reuenge* or *choller*, not expos'd to any violence of passion, but as *temperate* in disposition, as *settled*; no waue in her designe, nor tempest in her thought; she is all calme, not a wind so rough as to moue a storme, either in her minde or action. But there is a *squint-eyed humilitie*, which casts one way, and points another; the looke is deiected, still groueling toward the earth, and with such a dresse of mortification, as if it desired no more of it, than would serue it for a graue; when the thought measures out a Diocesse, or labours on some greater proiect, which gain'd, the countenance is cheer'd, the bodie droopes not, and hee can now safely iest it with that old Abbot,

1 Pet. 5.6.

Plato in Timeo.

Querebam prius claues monasterij,
Quibus inuentis, nunc rectus incedo.

And this subtill Nauigator neuer steeres as he sets his compasse; the looke (haply) points you to a formall meeknesse, but the thought still coasts vpon Ambition; yet this gluttonous *desire* seldome anchors any where, but goes on still with a full saile, till 't hath compassed the cape 'tis bound for,—*Habet hoc vitium omnis ambitio, non respicit*, The thirst of Eminencie is headstrong, and runs with a loose bridle. 'Tis too so much below satietie, that it still desires, nay 'tis hungrie euen in surfet, and is sharpen'd with the fruition of that it coueted; so that the birth of this tide is but the conception of another, one honour roomes not the greatnesse of his thought, our *Aaron* is not contented with an *Ephod*, *the rod of Moses* would doe well too; Authoritie is sleighted, discipline fallen, and corruption crept strangely into the times, but —*O fortunatam me consule, Romam.* What should a mercifull worth doe with a Consulship? 'tis a place for thunder, not clemencie, one that can strike dead exorbitancie with the furrowes of the brow, and quell all vice with the tempest of a looke, one that can both vnsheath the sword of authoritie, and brandish it, if not to *reformation*, yet to *ruine*; Thus he would make gouernment the stale both of his pride and Tyrannie, his proiects are loftily-cruell, so are his actions too, yet still in a hot sent of promotion, wch (if they want a trumpet from others commendation) shall borrow one from his owne, and so at once applaud his designes, and iustifie them. And indeed this titillation and itch of honour, if it once finde in the bosome of the receiuer a faire admittance, doth smoothly insinuate and cheat vpon the powers of *Reason*. But when 'tis thorowly seated and enthron'd there, 'tis no more a guest but a Tyrant, and leaues the Possessor, not a Master, but a Captiue, and in this case, I know not whether Saint *Augustine* will pitie his *Aurelius*, or excuse him,—*Etsi cuiquam facile sit gloriam non cupere dum negatur, difficile est tamen delectari cum offertur*— in his

Senec.

Iuuen. Sat. 1.

Aug. Epist. 64. ad Aurel.

64. Epistle. Howeuer the Father seemes there to pleade onely for the delight in glories offer'd, not in the vniust prosecution of those denied. But our *humble-arrogant* walkes not to his *temple of honour by that of vertue*, but inuasion; and of some of his *colleagues*, the Fathers complain'd of old, *Qui nequaquam diuinitus vocati, sed sua cupiditate accensi, culmen regiminis rapiunt potius, quam assequuntur.* 'Tis *S. Gregories* line, and a strong one too, such a one as the Prophet once lash'd *Iudah* with, *Hos.* 8. 4. *They haue set vp a King, but not by me, they would make a Ruler, I knew it not.* Would you haue a more punctuall character, that of the Pharisees is most apposite: They loue greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, *Rabbi, Rabbi, they binde heauie, &c. Matth.* 23. 7. *Deuout cruelty, Religious arrogance* (the Father will make it out) *Ob pietatem miseri, ob splendorem infœlices*, in his Apologie, *Orat.* 1. *pag.* 44.

Greg. pastor. 1. past. cap. 2.

Hos. 8. 4.

Matth. 23.

Greg. Nazian. in præfat. Apol. edit. lat.

But I haue followed *Moses* too long as a Magistrate, I must now a while as a Priest, and (what I exchang'd him for) a Bishop. I shall not trauell farre, e're I descrie them both in a full careere, not far from the road I left the Magistrate, *Ambition*, but in a more couert, and vntrodden way; a way, howeuer doubly obnoxious to the passenger, because *vnwarrantable*, because *forbidden*; no authority for his progresse, no Letters patents from heauen, no *proficiscere* from his God, *Goe*, yet he runnes, runnes without command, nay against it, trebly against it, against that, *non dominantes in clerum*—, feed, But not as Lords ouer Gods heritage, but ensamples, and against that *nolite magistri*, be not masters, knowing you shall receiue the greater condemnation; nay against the direct prohibitiō of Christ to his Disciple, —*Will there be any great among you*—, ἔστω ὑμῶν δοῦλος, *let him be your seruant.* 'Tis high time then this bladder were a little prickt, and this impostume launc'd. The body of the Church desire's it, cries for't, she is sicke, sicke euen vnto death, yet no

1 Pet. 5. 3.

Iames 3. 1.

Matth. 20. 27.

Physitian in *Israel* will administer, will? durst nor; We are growne so emasculate, and pallie-strucken, in waies of reprehension, the times so censorious, and in a lust of noueltie, that this mount of God which was wont to send out lightnings and thunder to the Israelites below, is now growne a terrour to the *Moses* that shall climbe it. And whereas the Pulpit hath beene formerly our Tribunal, to iudge and sentence the lapses and deprauations of the people, they haue made at length a bar for our owne arraignment, & their doome or mercy passes on vs, as we shall please or not please, but the verdict runnes much to the fancy of the censurer, which is commonly as barbarous and wilde, as he that giues it. Discourses (and I am sorry I cannot call them Sermons) are so sleeke and wooing for applause, the eares of the times so coy, and pickt for accuratenesse, that to be plaine or home, entitles the speaker to rudenes or Stoicisme, each offer'd annoration is a barbarisme, and euery reproofe a libell. The hewing downe of a glorious vice, or the whipping of a sinne in scarlet, *Pramunires* him that doth it, and he growes a tributarie and slaue to the frownes and dishonours of the time, —*Unde illa priorum —scribendi quodcunque animo flagrante liberet —Simplicitas?* 'Tshould seeme Antiquity had a priuiledge of venting any thing that proceeded from the simplicity and truth of an honest brest; But the thoughts of astertimes were choak't with a—*non audeo dicere*—, sincerity was turn'd bankrupt, and truth an exile, plaine-dealing, pertinacy, and zeale, madnesse. But what, shall *Moses* here be tongue-tied, shall hee stutter in the Messages of his God? —*Quid refert dictis ignoscat Mutius annon?* Pusillanimity and deiectednesse of spirit in the imployment of thy Maker, is the basest degree of cowardice; for my part, I haue set vp my resolution with that of *S. Bernard: Quid me loqui pudeat, quod illis non puduit facere? si pudeat audire quod impudenter egerunt, non pudeat emendare quod libenter non audiant.*

Iuuen Sat. 1.

Iuuen ibid.

Ad Fulc Ep. l. 2.

Let

Let me tell howeuer this childe of vaine-glory, that no touch of malecontentednesse, or spirit of inuection puts me on the iustice of these complaints; But that which the deuout Abbot calls, *patient anger, humble indignation*— euen that charity wherewith he catechiz'd his ambitious pupill, —*Que tibi condolet, quamuis non dolenti, que tibi miseretur, licet non miserabili, & inde magis dolet, quod cum sis dolendus, non dolet, & inde magis miseretur, quod cum miser sis, miserabilis non es, vult te tuum scire dolorem, vt iam non habeas vnde dolere, vult te tuam scire miseriam, vt incipias miser non esse*, in his 2 Epistle, *Ad Fulconem*—. Bernard. ad Fulc. epist. 2.

I neuer yet enuied the prosperity of any, I have sometimes wond'red at their waies of aduancement, and now haue trac't them, and finde a double staire by which they ascend, *vt ale policie*, —(please you to translate the termes you may, they will beare the christning) *Faction, Simony*—, one of the chiefe meanes to gaine preferment, is, to crie downe the way to it. And he that will haue three liuings, must first preach violently against two. Non-residency must be a capitable & indispensable crime, Pluralities damn'd, till they be either offer'd, or possest; when the fish is caught, what makes the net here then? away with it; the question is stated on t'other side. *A double Benefice is but one liuing*, and that swallowed with as little reluctation, as 'twas but now thundred against, with all the bitternesse that the power of virulence could suggest; all's well now, the conscience is at peace, and (what is strange) the tongue too. Ere long, Non-residency hangs not in the teeth, but that is easily put off, for the honour of *Nicodemus*, —*To be a great Master in Israel*, —*Si violandum sit ius, regnandi causa violandum*, —what matter's it for iustice, so we gaine an Empire? or for equity, so we may insult? The application needs no skrew, 'twill come home of it's owne accord to the murmurings of the guil- Sueton.

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ty bosome; In the meane time it much staggers me, to see the reconcilement of two vertuous friends with a base aduersary? a Saint in the countenance, an Angell in the tongue, with an Hypocrite at the heart.

Thus (beloued) vpon easie enquiry we may as well descrie an equiuocation in the looke, as in the word, and he that can art it handsomely in wayes of dissimulation, hath not so much two tongues, as two faces; one lookes towards the world, where demurenesse laies on her paint and colour, and this oftentimes deludes, shamefully deludes; the other towards heauen, and that's but coursely dawb'd in respect of it, for the eie of the Almighty cannot be dazell'd, that will descrie her furrowes and deformities, and at length giue her a reward answerable to the desert, *her portion with the Hypocrite*, and there I leaue it.

This fruitlesse and pernicious branch prun'd, and lopt off, t'other buds, no lesse dangerous than that, and yet more flourishing, it sprouts now to such a breath, and height, that it hath almost ouershadowed the body of the Church, in so much, that the Fowles of the aire lodge in the branches thereof. No Vulture or Rauen (emblemes of rapine and greedinesse) though they deuoure and hauock it (so they haue a tricke of merchandizing) but nests and perches there; nay scarce an Owle or Buzzard (now the metaphors of dulnesse and simplicity) but hours and reuels there. Times more than calamitous, when the inheritance and patrimonie of the Church shall be thus leas'd out to *auarice* and *folly*, when those her honours, which she entailes vpon desert, shall be heaped vpon a golden ignorant, who rudely treads on those sacred prerogatiues, without any warranted *proficiscere* from God, or man. We finde *Moses* trembling here, though encourag'd both by the perswasion and command of the Almighty,

Almighty, —*Et infirmus quisq; vt honoris onus suscipiat, anhelat, & qui ad casum valdè vrgetur ex propriis, humerũ libenter apprimendum ponderibus submittit alienis*—. 'Tis *Gregories* complaint in the 1. part of his Pastorall, chap 7.

Greg. par. 1. past. cap. 7.

Strange monument of weakneſſe! he that reeles vnder his owne burthen, ſtoopes to be oppreſt with the weight of others, and loe how hee tumbles to *a mortall ſinne*. (The Schoolemen doe ſtile it ſo) directly oppoſite to a paire of vertues, *Iuſtice, Charitie*; *vniuſt*, that the reuenues due to worth ſhould be pack't vpon buckleſſe and vnable perſons, and *vncharitable* for him to vndertake the guidance and paſturing of a flocke, who was neuer train'd vp in the conditions of a Shepherd. Neither is he an enemie onely of a double vertue, but a companion of two ſuch ſinnes, which ſeeme to braue and dare the Almightie to reuenge on the prophaner, *Intruſion, Periurie*; firſt, in ruſhing on the profeſſion not legitimately call'd, then in purchaſing her honours. Yet there are, which can ſay with the Diſciple —*Maſter, we haue left all and followed thee*— our birth-right for the Church; left did I ſay? ſold it, exchanged the poſſeſſions of our Fathers (their vineyard) to purchaſe thine; and in ſtead of that penny which thou giueſt in lieu of a Crowne, and recompence to thy labourer, we haue giuen thouſands to be poſſeſt of one, and ſo thou not hiring vs, wee haue it. But heare S. *Bernard* ſchooling his *Eugenius*, and doe not ſo much bluſh as tremble, —*Quis mihi det, antequam moriar videre eccleſiam Deiſicut in diebus antiquis quando Apoſtoli laxabant retia in capturam, non auri, ſed animarum! quàm cupio te illius hereditare vocem cuius adeptus es ſedem? Pecunia tua tecum in perditionem*—. *O vox tonitrui!* The Abbot goes on deuoutly in the 238. Epiſtle *ad Eugenium*.

Greg. de Val. in 2. 2. Aquin. diſp. 10. q. 3. punc. 2.

Bern. epiſt. 238. ad Eugen.

If that Father be too calme and modeſt in his reproofe,

and cannot rouze bloud in the checkes of the delinquent, S. *Ambrose* shall startle it, or else scare you with the vision of *Simon Magus*, or *Gehazi*, —*Qui non timentes illud Petri, aut Elizei, Sacerdotalem desamant honorem, sanctique Episcopatus gratiam pecuniis coemerunt*; in his *De dignitate Sacerdotali, cap. 5.*

Amb. de dign. sacerd. cap. 5.

And indeed, in waies of sufficiencie and worth, 'tis the —*si nil attuleris*— damp's the preferment; The age can instance in some, languishing and weake in their intellectuals, men without sap or kernell, who (hauing their store-house well fraught with that *white* and *red* earth) haue stumbled on the glories of the time, as if fortune would make them happie in despight of vertue; when others of Christs followers (were truely his Disciples) are sent abroad with their—*ite & prædicate*—*barefooted, without bag or scrip*, but their Commission large —*Omni Creaturæ*—the wide world is their place of residence, no particular roofe to shelter them, or place of retiredneſſe to lay their head in. Nay, some that haue seru'd a triple Apprentiship to Arts and Sciences, and spent in these our *Athens* the strength of their time and patrimonie, men thorowly ballac'd for those high designes, well kern'd both in yeeres and iudgement, lie mouldring for non-employment, and dasht for slownesse of promotion; when others of cheape and thin abilities, men without growth or bud of knowledge, haue met with the honours of aduancement, and trample on those deiected bookewormes, which dissolue themselues into industrie for the seruice of their Church, yet meet neither with her pompe, nor her reuenue; nay, some that haue wasted their Lampe, and burnt their Taper to an inch of yeeres, hauing spent those fortunes in the trauels of Diuinity, wch would largely haue accommodated them for more secular courses, are enforced to retire themselues to the solitarinesse of some ten-pound Cure, and so spin out the

the remainder of their age in a discontented contemplation of their misfortunes; and (I pray God) not in murmuring against his Church. And this hath occasion'd a maine revolt and apostasie of some from the bosome of this our Mother, where not finding shelter vnder those wings which had bred them, flutter abroad in other Prouinces, & at length stain'd vp to the *Romish* Lure; witnes those many *Proselytes* they haue gain'd from vs (not for matter of conscience, but of fortune) who now steeping their pens in Wormewood, and whetting their tongues keener than any Razor, haue wounded & struck thorow the sides of their sometimes Mother, to her great preiudice and dishonour. Where the fault lies, he that hath but slenderly traffiqu'd with the occurrences of the time, may iudge. Spiritiall promotions are slow of foot, and come for the most part haltingly, or in a by-way. A calamity which best ages haue beene obnoxious to (those of the Fathers) but by them cried downe with as great violence, as detestation. (*S. Ambrose* will tell with what iustice, I cannot, it makes me tremble.) —*Videas in Ecclesia passim quos non merita, sed pecunia ad presbyteratus ordinem promouerunt, vnguentis populum, & indoctum, quos si persuasisses fidelibus velis quis vos præferens Sacerdotes, respondent mox & dicunt, Episcopus, & ait dedi, quod si non dederim hodie non esset.* —The words are broad enough in their Mother-tongue, they need no renderer, but an applier, if there be any guilt here so past blushing, that can doe it, let it shew into horrour to read on the Father in his —*de dignitate Sacerdotali cap. vii.*

Ambros. de dign. Sacerd. cap. 5.

I haue beene too tedious here, you will say, too bold; but I haue done nothing but what *Moses* should, followed the commandement of my God, he bad me goe, I haue obeyed him, and he hath promised to assist me, for *he will be in my mouth*, that's my second circumstance, —*Go, and I will be in thy mouth, and will teach thee what thou shalt say.*

And here I should say more, but time hath silenc'd mee; a second opportunitie may perfect all, in the meane time I shall beg Gods blessing for you, and your charitie to these. *To God the Father, &c.*

Gloria in excelsis Deo.
Amen.

FINIS.

NATVRES OVERTHROW, AND DEATHS TRIVMPH.

A SERMON PREACHED AT THE FVNERALL OF SIR IOHN SYDENHAM, Knight, at *Brimpton*, the 15. of *December*. 1625.

BY

Humphry Sydenham, M^r. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

Studeat quisque sic delicta corrigere vt post mortem non oporteat pœnam tolerare.

August. lib. de verâ & falsâ pœnitentiâ.

LONDON,

Printed for IOHN PARKER.

1627.

TO MY MVCH RESPECTED KINSMAN, IOHN SYDENHAM, Esquire, This.

SIR;

THere is as well an obedience in matters of desire, as command, and with me a request hath euer beene of larger authority than a Mandate. You were pleas'd (formerly) to importune me for a transcript of this Sermon; now, for the impression of it; I haue obeyed you in either; but I feare 'twill lose some of the lustre in the perusall, which it found in the deliuery. I am not so happy a master of my Pen, as of my tongue, nor you (perchance) of your eare, as of your eye, that some tinckling fancies may (at once) take and delude: this, is

more

more subtle, and perspicacious, and will not be gull'd with the barke and shell of things, but pierces the very kernell, and the marrow; 'Tis sometimes with the care, *and* eye *of a Schollar, as with his* fancy, *and his* iudgement; *the* one *hath many a cheat put vpon it by weake impostures, which the* other *both* discouer's, *and* reiects, *and sometimes (as it doth here)* pitie's. *What you shall meet with of vigour, and solidity, entertaine, cherrish,* 'tis yours; *yours first in the birth, and occasion; now, in the protection, nourishment; what more languishing, & abortiue, lay on the Authour,* 'tis mine, *like me, I'le father it; Howeuer, 'twill implore your* charity, *the charity of your faire* interpretation, *not of your* beneuolence; *which if you shall vouchsafe, you haue* nobly rewarded *the endeuours of*

Your affectionate kinsman,

HVM: SYDENHAM.

NATVRES OVERTHROW, AND DEATHS TRIVMPH.

ECCLES. 12. 5.

Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners walke about the ſtreets.

MOrtalitie loues no deſcant; your plaine ſong ſutes beſt with blacks, that which is grauely ſet to cōpunction, ſorrow tun'd heauily, to ſighes & lamentations. What ſhould warbling aires with darted boſomes & vnbalmed hearts? what your quaint & youthfull raptures, when —*Mourners walke about the ſtreets?*

streets? If *Zion* bee wept for, *harpes must bee hung vpon the willowes*; sad obiects require furrowes in the cheeke, and riuers in the eye, and we then most honour the exequies of our friends, when wee embalme the deceased with our teares. Away then with eares wanton'd to looser Sonnets; offend not with vnchaste attentions these hallowed anthemes, here's broken harmonie; dirges as sullen, as they are sacred; panting and heart-broke elegies, such as should be rather groan'd, than sung. Aske the *Preacher* (here) and hee will tell you, —*The daughters of Musicke are brought low, and the yeeres draw nigh, when we shall say, we haue no pleasure in them.* He storie's of a *Sunne, and Moone, and Starres which are obscur'd, & of clouds that returne not after raine*; as if the world were at her last pang and gaspe, and ready for her funerall. Behold! the *little world* is —*The keepers of the house haue trembled, the strong men bowed themselues, the grinders ceased, and those that looke out of the windowes, darkned; the Almond tree doth flourish, and the Grashopper is a burden, and desire shall faile.* —*Because*— *Man goeth to his long home, and mourners walke about the streets.*—

Eccles. 12. 4. Verse 2. Verse 3. 3.

Without any racke or violence to the words, they offer themselues to this diuision. 1 the subiect, Man. 2 his condition, transitorie condition, exprest by way of pilgrimage—, —Goeth—. 3 the *non vltra*, or *terminus ad quem*, of this his pilgrimage—. To his home- enlarged with an epithete —*Long home*—. 4 the state and ceremonie it there meets with,—*And the mourners walk about the streets*—. Of these in their order; first of the subiect, Man.

Diuision. *Part 1.*

To dwell with circumstances, and ouerslip the maine, was euer an embleme of negligence, if not of weaknesse; each Fabulist will tell you of a dog and a shadow, and what they moral. He that iangles (meerly) about nominals, where matters of realtie and substance fleet by, may speake himselfe a Grammarian or a Sophister, scarce a Diuine. Of the *name* of Man, its source and pedegree,

I list

I list not to discourse; not an ignorance so vntaught, or vnderstanding dull'd, but would forestall me, or should I (by chance) meet with some intellectuals, so thin & tender, that could not (as it is a chance I should) scarce an obiect but would be both your spokesman, & remẽbrancer; yonder sad spectacle, that earth, this stone would tell you --*Homo ab humo* from the ground *Adam ab Adamah*, frõ the earth, red earth, not that more solid part of it, but the brittlelest, dust, so the curse runs, *Dust thou art, & to dust thou shalt returne*-. In the *word* Man, in the various acceptation of the *word* Man, (wherin some syntagmatical Diuines haue vnprofitably toil'd) I le not curiously or impertinently trauell, but without any figurstiue or metaphoricall sense, take it properly & literally, as the Text giues it me, —*Man*—, that is, a reasonable liuing creature, or rather a reasonable liuing soule, for so the Spirit of God Christens it, —*The man was made a liuing soule*, *Gen.* 2. 7. and the same *periphrasis* the Apostle vses too, 1 *Cor.* 15. The first man *Adam* was made —εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, *in animam viuentem*, or *anima viuens*— —*A liuing soule*, *vers.* the 45. yet in the 44. of the same Chapter, he calls him, σῶμα ψυχικὸν—*a liuing body*. Either coat hee is iustly blazoned by, so wee giue the difference rationall, a difference so speciall and proper, that it diuides him from any other; for reason is an intellectiue power, peculiar to man onely, and not communicable to a second creature; by which λογίζεται, or (as the Schooleman termes it) *discurrit*; out of one thing he deduces another, and orders this, by that, both in method and discretion. Hence it is called λόγος, and the worke or office of it, λογισμὸς, *discursus*—*propter animæ celeritatem*—, for the volubilitie and nimblenesse of the soule, by which it trauerses & moues from one obiect to another, from effects to causes, and backe againe, from all things to euery thing, and from that (almost) to nothing. And as man was prerogatiu'd aboue others, in respect of perspicacitie, so of Empire,

Amb. Pol. 1. 1. 3. 5. Syntag.

Idem, vt supra.

Fer. in Genes.

and dominion, for whereas in other passages of creation, we find a kind of commanding dialect, --with a --*fiat lux*, and a --*producat terra*--. *Let there be light, let the earth bring forth*; In that of *Adam*, words more particular, of deliberation and aduice. —*Let vs make man*—, Man, a creature of those exquisite dimensions, for matter of body; of those supernaturall endowments, of soule, that now *omnipotency* bethinkes it selfe, and will consult. The priuy Counsell of *Sonne*, and *Holy Ghost*, is required to the moulding and polishing of this glorious peece. *Angels* may *looke on*, and *wonder*; *touch*, or *assist*, they may not; no, not so much as to *temper* or *prepare the metall*. Here is worke onely for *a Trinitie*. A taske for *Iehouah* himselfe, for *Iehouah Elohim*, the *Father, by the Son, in the power of the Spirit*. No doubt, somewhat of wonder was a proiecting, when a compleat *Deity*, was thus studying its perfection, somewhat that should border vpon euerlastingnes, when the finger of God was so choicely industrious, and loe what is produced? *Man*, the master-peece of his designe and workmanship, the great miracle and monument of nature, not only for externall transcendencies, but the glory and pompe of inward faculties stampt, and engrauen to the image of his God, through the righteousnesse of an immortall soule; besides, a body so symmetriously composed as if nature had lost it selfe in the harmony of such a feature. *Man*, the abstract, and modell, and briefe story of the vniuerse, —the *vtriusque naturæ vinculum*—, the cabbinet and store-house of three liuing natures, sensuall, intellectuall, rationall, the Analysis and resolution of the greater world into the lesse, the Epitome and *compendium* of that huge tome, that great *Manuscript* and worke of nature, wherein are written the characters of Gods omnipotency and power, framing it, disposing it, all in it, to the vse and benefit of *man*, of *man*, especially, of *man*, wholly; other creatures paying him an awfull obedience, as a tribute, and homage due to their

Genes. 1.27.

Contra Philo.

Purch. Pilgrim.

Gregor. Nazian.

Beasts.
Angels.
Men.

their commander in all things, so neere kinne to Deity, that *Melanchon* makes him a *terrestriall transitory God*: hauing little to diuide him from a *-Numen-*, but that one part of him was *mortall*, and that not *created* so, but *occasion'd*, miserably occasion'd, by *disobedience*.

A little *forbidden fruit* (from the hand of a fraile creature) shall disinherite it of an eternall priuiledge, and man is now thrust out of the doores of his euerlasting habitation for two pretty toyes, *an Apple, and a Woman*; howeuer *death hung not on the fruit*, (saith *Chrysostom*) *but the contempt*, which was not so *voluntary*, as *suggested*; fond man, that is thus cheated of an assurance of immortality, by a false perswasion that he shall be immortall, that-*critis sicut Dij*— hath dampt all; the Serpent perswades him, —if he doe but *taste*, hee shall be as *God*, when hee hath tasted, findes himselfe worse than *man*; a *worme* indeed, no *man*. Thus he is at once fool'd out of euerlastingnes, and the fauour of his Maker: the anger of the Lord is now sore kindled, and his furie smoaks in a double curse against him, and what hee was framed of, *earth*; that which hath (hitherto) voluntarily presented her fruitfulnesse, in hearbs, and plants, and all things requisite for his sustenance; now, *vndrest*, and not watered in the bubble and sweat of an industrious brow, affords him nothing but *thornes*, and *thistles*; iust reward of disobedience, *barrennesse*, and *death*. Lamentable felicity, which (at height) is but *conditionary*, & then *fatall*. There is no misery so exquisite, as the sense of a lost happinesse. Calamity is supportable enough, where there is not felt, or seene, a more honourable condition; but, to be rumbled from a blisse we were sometimes master of, is a punctuall wretchednesse. *Man*, but now on the pinacle and spire of all his glory, in a moment shamefully throwne from it, and with him, all posterity. But, loe, there is mercy euen in iustice, and life in the very sentence and iaw of death. —*The seed of the woman shall breake the Serpents*

head—. She that was (ere-while) a chiefe instrument in his fall, shall be now a maine agent in his restauration, not to that state wherein he was created, but to that wherein he shall be glorified. The soule (through faith and grace) shal still be preserued immortall, but the body must lessen of its primitiue condition, the soule as a Sunne that is eclips'd, or clouded, shall shine againe, the body, like some meteor, for a time exhal'd, falleth to the earth from whence it came; and as some metals (laid for a space in the bosome of the ground) grow more refined, and purified, so shall the body, *interr'd a naturall one, rise a glorious*. In the *Interuallum*, as a punishment for transgression, it shall resolue into what it was made of, and it must *goe to its long home*, the graue; where wee haue now brought it, & would haue laid it in, but that the capricious *hereticke* violently withstands it, and thus he interposes. *If man returne into earth, as he is earth, then hee was mortall before he sinned, and so death seemes to be of nature, and not punishment*.—It is not answered by deniall, but distinction, and we must (here) criticke betweene *mortale*, *mortuum*, and *morti obnoxium*, *mortall*, *dead*, and *liable to death*. We call that *dead* which is actually depriued of *life*; *subiect to death*, what is within the fathome and command of *deaths power* and tyranny for *sinne*, though not *actually*, yet in *time*. *Mortall*, two waies, either for that which by a *necessity* of nature *ought* to die, or for that which as the *merit* and *reward* of *sinne*, *can* die. The body of *Adam* (before sinne) was of it selfe *mortale* (as mortall is taken in the last sense) because *mutabile*, and that is *mutable*, which of it selfe *can* suffer *change*, although it neuer *doe*, as the *good Angells*, and *God* onely is *immutable*,—*Per se, & natura* (as *Augustine* speakes in his booke *de vera Relig. cap.* 13.) But the body of *Adam* was not *moriturum*, *to die*, if he had not sinned, but by a *glorious change*, without death, had beene translated by God into an euerlasting incorruptibility. It was *sinne* then

that

that made man obnoxious to the strokes of death, not any *condition*, or *necessitie* of *nature*, and therefore I know not whether I may call it an *errour* of the *Pelagian*, or a *blasphemie*, who would haue *Adam* (had he not transgressed) die by the *law of nature*. Hence hee might inferre, that death was not a *punishment for sinne*, and so by consequence, *Christ not died for it*; but wee finde this (by a Councell) long since doomed for an *heresie*, & an heauie *Anathema* laid on the Patron of that tenent in *Concilio Milevitana, cap.* 1. and more particularly by *Augustine*, in his first booke *de Peccatorum meritis & remissione, cap.* 2. You see then that *death* and all *corporall defects*, were scourges following the disobedience of the first man, not occasioned by any impulsion or languishment of *nature*, and *Aquinas* will reason it thus, —*If a man for an offence be deprived of some benefit that is giuen him, the wanting of this benefit, is the punishment of that offence. To Adam in his state of innocencie there was this boone conferr'd from Heauen, that as long as his minde was subiect vnto God, the inferiour powers of the soule should be obedient vnto reason, and the body vnto the soule. But because the minde of man (by sinne) did recoile and start backe from this diuine subiection, it followed, that those inferiour powers also would not be totally subiect vnto reason; whence grew so great a rebellion of the carnall appetite, that the bodie (too) would not bee totally subiect to the soule. Vpon this breach death enters, and all that pale band of diseases, and corporall infirmities; for the incollumitie and life of the body consists in this, that it bee subiect vnto the soule,* —*Sicut perfectibile sua perfectioni*,—as the Schooleman speakes, *as a thing perfectable to its perfection. On the other side, death, and sicknesse, and languishments of body, haue reference to the defects of the true subiection of the body to the soule. And therefore necessitie of consequence will induce, that as the rebellion of the carnall appetite to the spirit, was a punishment of our first fathers sinne; so mortalitie, and all corporall*

imperfections

imperfections too, as the Schooleman punctually in his 2². 2ᵃ. 164. *quæst*. 1. *Artic*. The curse then due to the lapse of our first Parents, houers not ouer the *soule* onely, but, for it, the *body*; the *bodie* (before) in a blessed way of incorruptibilitie, but not *of it selfe*, but *from the soule*, so *Augustine* tels his *Dioscorus*, —*Tam potenti natura Deus fecit animam, vt ex eius beatitudine, redundet in corpus plenitudo sanitatis, & incorruptionis vigor*—in his 56 Epistle. His body then was not indissoluble by any vigor of immortalitie existing in it selfe, but there was (supernaturally) a power in the soule, diuinely giuen, by which man might preserue his body from all corruption, as long as it remained subiect vnto God. And the Schooleman hath good ground for it; for, seeing *the reasonable soule doth exceed the dimensions and proportion of corporall matter, it was conuenient, that in the beginning, there should be a vertue giuen it, by which the body might be rescued from all infirmities, and conserued aboue the nature of that corporall matter*, as the same *Aquinas part*. 1. *quæst*. 97. *Art*. 1. The whole man then (mixt of body and soule) was in the creation in a glorious state of immortalitie, but it was with a —*Quodammodo*—(as *Augustine* tels vs, *de Genes. ad Lit. lib*. 6. *cap*. 25.) not absolutely, —*Ita vt non posset mori*,—but conditionally --*poterat non mori*--. It is true, hee had a power not to die, if hee had not sinned; but it was a necessitie he should die, when he had; otherwise God had beene as vniust to his promise, as hee was seuere in his command, for so the charge runnes, --*At that day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die the death*--. Hee hath eaten, therefore he must die---. But from whence commeth this death? from *God*, or from *himselfe*? or *both*? originally from *neither*; not from *God*, he cannot be the cause of it, death being a *priuation* onely, hauing *name* (saith *Augustine*) but no *essence*; besides, it is an *Omen* and an *ill* to nature. Whatsoeuer God made, had an *essence*, was a *species*, *good*; the

Genes. 2.

Text

Text tells vs so, six times tells vs so, in one Chapter, *Genes. 1. God made the firmament, and it was good, Hee made the earth, and it was good; in a word, he saw all that he had made,—Et erant valde bona, they were very good*—. We may not thinke then that God therfore created man, that he should die; or, because death followed his disobedience, God was the cause of it. Death may be an instrument of his iustice, not an effect of his producing. It is one thing to giue the sentence of death, another to be the author of it. Indeed *Augustine* sayes (*lib.1. Retract. cap. 21.*) that *death* (as *a punishment*) *hath reference to God*, not, as *an obliquitie*; and the Schooleman is at hand too, with a distinction for a two-fold death, one, *as an ill of humane nature, or a defect incident from mans transgression, that, he dares not lay on the Almightie*, the other, *as it hath some species or resemblance of good, to wit, as it is a iust penance for his rebellion*, this he doth in his 2ª. 2æ. 164. *quæst. Art.* 1.

Genes. 1. vlt.

Aquinas.

As therefore in the creation of the world God is said to *make light*, & to *separate it from darknesse*, not to make darknesse, as if that were of it selfe some blinde masse and Chaos, and therefore God chid light out of it; so in the creation of man God is said to *make life* (*God breathed into him the breath of life*) not death, nay he doth separate that light from this darknesse, and doth chide life not out of it, but from it, with a—*Caue ne manducas*—take heed thou eat not, for if thou dost, —*morte morieris*— thou shalt die the death. That therefore of the wise man will vindicate the Almighty from this misprision, —*God made not death, neither hath he pleasure in the corruption of the liuing, for he created all things, that they might haue their being, and the generations of the world were healthfull, and there was no poison of destruction in them.*

Genes. 1.

Wisdome 1. 13, 14.

The wombe then of this great plague of man the Apostle rips vp, —*When lust hath conceiued, it bringeth forth sinne, and sinne when it is perfected,*

bringeth forth death, Iam. 1 15. The birth then of sinne is through a conception of lust, and the strength of death through a perfection of sinne. Loe then the cause of this great calamitie discouered! but how came that? *originally* from the *man?* no. How then? — *Through the enuy of the deuill came death into the world*, the 2. Chapter of the same booke, vers. 24. And therefore Saint *Augustine* calls it, — *mors à morsu* — from the biting of the Serpent. And our Sauiour tells vs, — *Ille homicida ab initio, Iohn 8.* — *He was a murderer from the beginning*; whence perceiuing man (by his then obedience) aduanc'd to that place from which he was headlong'd, now dissolues, and breakes into secret enuie; this enuie wrought deceit, deceit concupiscence, that, disobedience, disobedience, sin, sinne, death. So that the enuie of the deuill is the source and spring-head, deceit, the Conduit, concupiscence, the pipe, the waters conueied in it, disobedience, sinne, the Channell or Cisterne into which they fall, death. Tell *Adam* then of the forbidden fruit, he layes it on his wife, — *The woman gaue it me.* Aske the women, she puts it on a third, — *The Serpent seduced me.* — Aske the Serpent, there it stayes, and in stead of an answer, we finde a curse, — *Because thou hast done this, vpon thy belly thou shalt creepe, and dust thou shalt eat all the dayes of thy life.* The man then all this while growes not obnoxious in respect of *seduction*, but *assent*, the woman of both; so the Apostle — *Adam was not deceiu'd*, — *sed mulier in præuaricatione fuâ* — *the woman being deceiu'd was in the transgression*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 14. If God then aske *Adam*, — *num comedisti? Hast thou eaten of that tree of which I commanded thee thou shouldest not eat?* He answers not with a — *Mulier seduxit*, — *the woman hath seduced mee*, but onely with a — *dedit* — *she gaue mee, and I did eat.* If he aske *Euah*, — *Quid fecisti? woman, what is this that thou hast done?* she as empty of any other euasion, as of strength, layes all on the shoulders of the seducer, — with a — *Serpens seduxit*

Aug. in locum.

Genes. 3.

dixit me, —the Serpent seduced mee. God inquires no farther, but sentences, —*I will put enmitie betwixt her seed and thy seed, it shall breake thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heele,* as it is nimbly obserued on the 2. booke of the Sentences, *distinct.* 22.

Vt supra.

Egidius de Roma.

Thus, with some bloud, and trauell, I haue shewed you *man*, in his originall, height, fall; how created, in what glory thron'd, how sunke, what the sinne, the occasioner, the punishment; whence he was, what he is, whither he must; earth, from earth, to it; thither he shall without repriuall: the sentence is past, the executioner ready, and he must goe, for — *Man goeth*, that's my second part, his transitory condition expressed by way of pilgrimage. *Goeth.*

Pars II.

Man goeth —

RAre expression of his frailtie here, if it may not be more properly said — *he is gone*, than that *he goeth. Our dayes* (saith the Kingly Prophet) *are gone euen as a tale that's told, Psal.* 90. *A tale*, of no more length than certaintie. Againe, they are *dayes*, not *yeeres*, as if our being (here) depended vpon moments, more than time, or if time, that which is present, not in future; *Daies* are enough, and *yeeres*, too much, or had we both, loe, they are *gone, gone* euen as a *tale that's told*, a *tale*, as momentary, as vaine. *Seneca* tells his *Polybius* onely of three parts of life answerable to those of time, past, present, to come, *What we doe, God knowes is short; what we shall doe, doubtfull; what wee haue done, out of doubt*; so that our best peece of age is either transitory, or dubious; and where a wise man discouers either, he will at least suspect change, if not slight it. Pitch man at highest, ranke him

wich *Kings, Prophets, Priests*; and wee shall there finde him on his hill of ice, whence he doth not slip so properly, as tumble: one sayes hee is *a shadow*, another *a smoake*, a third *a vapour*, braue resemblances of his station (here) and durabilitie, when the best commendation we can bestow on either, is--*they passe, or else they fade*,--As if it were a sinne to say, *they Are, but they Haue beene*. The *Grecian* then scarse shot home to the fraikie of man, when he cals him ἐφήμερον--*A creature of a day*,-- he did that nam'd him --*Hesternum--yesterday*--, *We are but as yesterday, and know nothing*, *Iob* 8. 9. Alasse poore man, no better than a watrish Sunne betweene two swolne clouds, or a breathlesse intermission between two feuers, *miserie* and *fate*. Loe how they kisse? *Man that is borne of a woman hath but a short time to liue, and is full of miserie*: accurate calamitie; in method, *borne, a short time to liue, full of miserie*; and to make frailtie compleat, the thing *Woman* is inserted too.- *Man that is borne of a woman, &c.* *Dauid* was too prodigall in his similitude, when he beat out the age of man to the dimensions of *a span*; an inch, a *punctum*, had beene bountifull enough, the least Atome types out his glorie here, his glorie of life, 'tis breath on steele, no sooner on than off; Sunne-burnt stubble, at once flame and ashes. Wee are at a good key of happinesse, when we can say -*we are transitorie*--we haue scarse (sometimes) so much life as to know we die, euen in the verie threshold and porch of life, death strangles vs; as if there were but one doore of the sepulchre and the wombe; so that man is but a *liuing ghost, breathing dust, death cloath'd in flesh and blood*.

Hee goeth, vanisheth rather, vanisheth like lightning, which is so sudden, and so momentarie, that wee more properly say wee remember it, than that we see it. How is't then, that life is sometimes spunne to the *crimson*, and sometimes the *siluer threed*, from the *Downe* and *tender wooll* in child-hood, to the *Scarlet* in the manly cheeke,

and

and the *tinsell* and *snow* in old age? Indeed, the white head, and the wrinkled countenance, may reade you the Annals of threescore and ten, perchance calculate our life to a day longer; what is beyond is trouble, and so was that, and yet hath not this man liu'd long? *-diu fuit, non diu vixit-Seneca* replies, *How canst thou say he hath sailed much, when a cruell tempest takes immediatly, as soone as he is off the Hauens mouth? and after many a churlish assault, of wind, and billow, much traversing his way, wau'd and surg'd to many a danger, he is at length driuen backe the same rode, but now he went out by? this man hath not sailed much, but hath beene much beaten.* And indeed we haue here but our-*tempestuosa interualla*-, 'tis not *life* truly, but *calamity. A well glos'd misery, gaudy vnhappinesse, glorious vanitie, a troubled Sea, tormented with continuall ebbes, and flowes; sometimes we are shipwracked, alwaies tos't, and thus expos'd to daily blustrings, we finde no Hauen but in death.* Hereupon the Grecian called the first day of mans life, χειρὶ τῶν ἄθλων, *-a beginning of conflicts-*; So that we shall meet with more troupes of sorrow, (here) than we haue meanes either to resist, or to appease them.

De breuit. vitæ cap 3.

Idem Ibidem.

Considerest thou not (sayes that graue Philosopher) *what a kinde of life it is nature presents vs with, when shee would teares should be the first presages of our condition in this world?* How pretily *Augustine* emblemes it in his tender infant, —*Nondum loquitur, & tamen Prophetat,* cryes are the first Rhetorick he vses, by which e're he can speake, he prophesies; and by a dumbe kinde of diuination, waile's out the storie of mans sorrowes heere. And now his odours, sauours, lassitudes, watchings, humours, meats, drinks, repose, all things, without which he could not liue, are but the occasion of his death. And therefore that famous Romane, receiuing sudden tidings of the death of his onely Sonne, answered without distraction nobly, —*I knew when I begat him he should die*—, life being nothing else but a *iourney vnto death, a going to the*

Seneca ad Lucil. Epist. 70.

long home. It is a little part of it we liue, the whole course of our age, being not *life*, but *time* rather; wch wee cannot recall being spent, or cause it for present, not to spend, but it treads by vs, without noise, and so swiftly, that it is here when we expect it comming, and gone by vs, when we thinke 'tis at vs. *Man goeth*—, Goes as some curious watch does, wound vp (perchance) for an houre, at most, for a day, and then, 'tis downe; which time, if it minute right, it is a rare peece; sometimes, by distemper, it runs too fast, sometimes set backe, by the prouidence of the keeper, sometimes, again, it beats slow, like a dying pulse, by and by, it stands still, as if the whole machine languished; anon some wheele's amisse, or a spring broken, and then we say it is not downe, but disordered, so disordered, that 'tis beyond our Art of rectifying, it must be left to the skill of the maker; who, to ioynt it the better, sunders it, and to make it more firme, for a while destroyes it. The great Enginer and framer of the world, will haue it so done to our fleshly tabernacles, who by the *workmanship* of death, shall take the whole fabricke of the body into peeces, and for a time, lay it by in the graue, till against the great and appointed day, he shall new wheele and ioint it, and set it more gloriously a *going*, by the vertue of the resurrection. So that man not only *goeth*, (as I told you) but *is gone*, twise *gone*, dis-sould, by the frailtie of the body, to the captiuitie of a graue, rebodied with the soule, to the honour of a resurrection. You see then, man is still in a place of fluctuation, not residence, and he is said to *soiourne* in it, not to *inhabit*. *Wee saile by our life my Lucilius*, (saies that Diuine Heathen, let no squemish eare cauill at the title, for it belongs to *Seneca.*) *And as in the Seas the Shores and Cities flie; so in this swift course of time, we first lose the sight of our childhood, and then of our youth, and at length discouer the straits of old age, at which whether we shall arriue, or no, it is doubtfull*; and *when we haue, dangerous.* That late famous (but vnfortunate)

Seneca Epist. 70. ad Lucilium.

vnfortunate) Historian, who had run thorow all ages of man, and almost all conditions in them, speakes here not like a specularius, but a practicke and experienced man; and resembleth his seuen ages, to the seuen planets; whereof, our *Infancie* is compared vnto the *Moone*, wherein wee seeme only to liue, and to grow as plants doe. Our *second age* to *Mercurie*, in which wee are tutor'd and brought vp in our first Alphabet and forme of discipline. Our *third age*, to *Venus*, the dayes of our loue, dalliance, vanitie. *The fourth*, to the *Sunne*, the shining, beautifull, glorious age of man. *The fift* to *Mars*, in which thorow fields of bloud, we hew our a way to honour and victory, and wherein our thoughts trauell to ambitious ends. *Our sixth age* to *Iupiter*, wherein we begin to take a strict calculation, and account of our mis-spent times, and bud, and sprout vp to the perfections of our vnderstandings. *The seuenth*, and last, to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are fullen, and ouercast, in which we finde by trodden experience, and irrepairable losse, that our golden delights of youth, are now accompanied with vexation, sorrow; our lackies and retinue, are but sicknesses, and variable infirmities, which whispering vnto vs our euerlasting habitation, *and long home*, we at length passe vnto it, with many a thorny meditation, and perplexed thought, and at last by the industrie of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a transitorie life.

History of the World, lib. 1.

Seeing then our bodies are but *earthen cottages, houses of dust*, and *tenements of clay*, the *anuils* which diseases and distempers daily hammer, and beat on; since our life *doth passe away as the trace of a cloud, and is dispersed as a mist driuen by the beames of the Sunne, why doe wee crowne our dayes with rose buds? why doe wee fill our selues with voluptuousnesse, costly wines, and ointments? why say wee not to rottennesse, thou art my father? to the worme, thou art my mother, and my sister?* Why doe wee pamper, and exalt this *iourney-man of corruption?* this *drudge*

Wisd. 2.

Iob 17. 14.

of

of frailtie? this *slaue of death?* why doe we not remember the imprisonment of the soule? and that which *Cyprian* calls, *her gaole-deliuerie?* why call wee not our actions to the barre? arraigne them? checke them? sentence them? why doe wee not something that may entitle vs to Religion, *while it is called to day? Foole, this night shall thy soule be taken from thee*, this houre (perchance) this minute, nay this *punctistitium* of it. *Who would not speedily draw water out of a riuer, which he knew would not continue long in its running?* Who would not suddenly extract somewhat from those wholesome fountaines which should cherish and refresh the thirstie and barren soule? why doe wee gaspe, and pant, and breathe for a little aire, wch nature (for a time) fann's vpon vs, and takes off at her pleasure in a moment? why steere we not with desire to our *long home?* why prepare we not for our progresse, since wee must needs thither? why crush wee not this cockatrice in the egge, and so forestall the venome of that eye whose darting is so fatall? *Shall I beleeue* (sayes *Seneca* to his *Lucilius*) *that fortune hath power in all things ouer him that liueth, and not suppose rather it can doe nothing to him that knoweth how to die? 'Tis not good to liue, but to liue well; and therefore a wise man liueth as much as he ought, not as much as he can.* We see the frailtie of others hourely brought vpon the Sceane, and how the daily traffique of disease with vs prompts vs our mortalitie. Those glorious bulwarkes, and fortresses of the soule, are but sanctuaries of weakenesse; languishing, crazie, and batter'd constitutions, but natures warning pecces, the watch-words of a fraile body, which keepe strict Sentinell or'e the soule, lest it steale from it, vnawares, and so the great enemie both inuade, and ruine it. How frequent euen amongst *Pagans* haue been their —*memento mori's*— ? and *a deaths head* (you know) was a chiefe dish at an *Egyptian feast*. So should that (yonder) to every recollected Christian, but such pre-

Seneca Epist. 7. ad Lucilium.

Mors.

Epist. 71.

presents (as those) haue beene of late no great dainties with vs, a seruice of euerie day, almost of euerie place (the whole land being little better than a Charnell-house) and we cannot but see it, and chew on't too, if we be not dust already, and that flie in our eyes, and blinde vs, and so the complaint of *Cyprian* whip vs home —*Nolumus agnoscere, quod ignorare non possumus.*

Why should then this sad toll of mortalitie dishearten vs? groanes, and sighes, and conuulsions, are the bodies passing-bels, no lesse customarie than naturall; and more horrid in the circumstance than the thing. —*Pompa mortis magis terret quàm mors ipsa*—, the retinue and complement of death, speake more terrour than the act. The *Aduersarie, the Iudge, the Sentence, the Iailor, the Executioner*, more daunt the *malefactor*, than the verie *stroke* and *cleft of dissolution. Are wee so foolish* (sayes the good Heathen) *to thinke death a rocke which will dash or split vs in the whole; no, 'tis the Port which we ought one day to desire, neuer to refuse; into which (if any haue beene cast in their younger yeares) they need repine no more than one which with a short cut hath ended his Nauigation. For there are some, whom slacker winds mocke and detaine, and wearie with the gentle tediousnesse of a peaceable calme; others swifter wafted by sudden gusts, whom life hath rather ranish't thither, than sent; which had they a time delay'd, by some flattering intermissions, yet at length, must of necessitie strucke saile to't.* Some faint-hearted *Adrian* will (to his power) linger it, and fearefully expostulate with a parting soule, as if the diuorce from the body were euerlasting, and there should not be (one day) a more glorious contract; when an heroike *Cannius* shall rebuke the teares in his friends cheeke, and thus brauely encounter death and him, —*Why are you sad? enquire you whether soules be immortall? I shall know presently.* Braue resolution, had it beene as Christian-like, as 'twas bold.

Seneca ad Lucil. Epist. 52.

Idem ibidem.

Quæ nunc abibis in loca, pallidula, rigida, nudula?

Againe, some effeminate *Rhodian* will rather languish:

vnder the grindings of a Tyrant, than sacrifice the remainder of a famin'd bodie to an honourable death, when a confident *Hilarion* shall dare all those grisly assaults, —*Soule get thee out, thou hast seuentie yeares serued Christ, and art thou now loth to die?* Once more, some spruce *Agag*, or kem'd *Amalakite* would be palsie-strucke with an —*amara mors*—, *Death is bitter, death is bitter*, 1 *Sam.* 15. 32. When a *Lubentius*, and a *Maximinus* haue their breast-plate on, with a —*Domine parati sumus*—, *We are ready to lay off our last garments, the flesh*. And indeed (saith *Augustine*) *Boughes fall from trees, and stones out of buildings, and why should it seeme strange that mortals die?* Some haue welcom'd death, some met it in the way, some baffel'd it, in sicknesses, persecution, torments. I instance not in that of *Basil* to the *Arrianated Valens*, ('tis too light) that of *Vincentius* was more remarkable, who with an vnabated constancie, thus stuns the rage of his mercilesse executioner. —*Thou shalt see the Spirit of God strengthen the tormented more, than the Deuill can the hands of the tormentor.* And that you may know a true Martyrdome, is not dash't either at the expectation, or the sense of torture, a *Barlaam* will hold his hand ouer the verie flame of the Altar, and sport out the horridnesse of such a death with that of the *Psalmist*, —*Thou hast taught my hands to warre, and my fingers to battell.* Seeing then we are compass'd with such a *cloud of witnesses*, what should feare a true Apostle from his--*Cupio dissolui*--? Let vs take his resolution and his counsell too, --*lay aside euerie waight, and the sinne that doth easily beset vs, and let vs runne with patience the race that is set before vs, Heb.* 12. 1. There is no Law so inuiolable, as this of *Nature*, that of the *Medes* and *Persians* was but corrupt, to this—*Statutum est omnibus semel mori*—Euerie true Christian knowes it, and feares it not so much out of *opinion*, as *nature*; and why should *nature* doe it, since 'tis call'd *our home, our long home*, whither 'tis as certaine

we

we shall goe, as doubtfull, when; and therefore I must now presse you with *Pauls Obsecro vos tanquàm aduenas—, I beseech you as strangers, and pilgrimes vpon earth,* looke not backe to the onions, and flesh-pots here; put forward for your last habitations, know you must at length to them, there is no by-way to auoid them, for —*Man goeth to his long home*—, that's my third part, the —*terminus ad quem*—, of this his trauell. —*His long home.*

Pars III.

His long home.

L*Ong home.* A periphrasis not of *death* so properly, as the *graue*, the *bed-chamber* of the body when 'tis dead; or rather, the bed it selfe (for so *Iob* stiles it) —*Thou hast made my bed ready for me in the darke,* deaths withdrawing roome, corruptions tyring-house, natures Golgotha, her Exchequer of rotten treasures, hid there till the day of doome, *Regia Serpentum,* (as the Sonne of *Syracke* calls it) *the randeuouz of creeping things, and beasts, and wormes,* Ecclus. 10. 11.

Come hither then, thou darling of the world, thou great fauourite of flesh, and bloud; thou whose honours (here) are as blooming, as the Lillies, and Roses in thy youthfull cheeke; know, *Image,* though thy *head* be of *gold,* and thy *body* of *siluer,* thy *feet* are but of *clay*, and they will leade downe to this *chamber of death,* where thou maist behold the glory of thy ancestors, as *Augustine* did at *Rome*, that of *Cæsars* in his Sepulchre.—*An eyelesse, cheeklesse, worme-gnawne visage*; nought but *rottennesse,* and *stench,* and *wormes,* and *bones,* and *dust,* and now—*Vbi Cæsaris præclarum corpus?* (saies the Father) *vbi diuitiarum magnitudo? vbi caterua Baronum? vbi acies militum?*

tum? vbi apparatus deliciarum? vbi thalamus pictus? vbi lectus Eburneus? vbi regalis thronus? vbi mutatoria vestimentorum? vbi magnificentia? vbi omnia? Sibi pariter defecerunt, quando defecit spiritus, & eum in sepulchro, trium brachiorum, reliquerunt cum fatore, & putredine—, in his 48. Sermon, *ad fratres in eremo.* Crowne, and Scepter, and Robes, and Treasure, and Sword, and Speare, and Valour, and Youth, and Honour, and (what the world could not (but now) either master or containe) his bodie, trencht in a graue of six cubites, no more, there *Cæsar* lies in earthen fetters; and so shall all dissolued bodies too, till that fearefull arraignment at the great assises. In the meane time, the soule shall be either wafted hence into *Abrahams* bosome, or else hurried to that caue of darknesse, and euerlasting horrour; no third place to purge and refine it, after death; no Romish trap-doore (through which a brib'd indulgence may presume to fetch it off at the pleasure of a cheating Consistory) but it hath heere *—suum Purgatorium—*, One of their Purgatory-mongers tells mee so, nay tells a Cardinall so, and bids him pray with *Augustine, —Domine hic vre, hic seca, vt in æternum parcas.*

Si saltem opus illud sit Augustini.

Cupræus de 4. hom. nouissimis, Serm. 3 pag. 56.

Thus you see, Man is now brought to his *—long home—*, his soule gone to its place of rest; but wee may not yet interre the body; that wee shall doe anon; some ceremonie remaines to be perform'd first; for loe, how the *Mourners walke about the streets?* That's my last part; the state, and ceremony man meets with: in the consummation of his pilgrimage *—The mourners walke, &c.*

PARS IIII.

The mourners, &c.

THe triumph, and honour, death challenges in the solemne interment of the deceased, hath beene a ceremony no lesse venerable, than ancient. 'Twas almost 3000. yeeres agoe, the *Mourners* (here) *walk't about the streets*; after them those of *Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Megiddo*, when all *Iudah* and *Ierusalem, mourned* for *Iosiah*, 2 *Chron.* 35. before both for *Iacob*, in *Goren Atad*, beyond *Iordan* --*where they mourned* (saith *Moses*) *with a great and sore lamentation*, *Gen.* 50. 10. Such a pompe of sorrow as was a president to all posterity; forty daies the body was embalm'd, then threescore and ten more, mourned for, before the Funerall, seuen after; against the day of interment all the tribes must be summon'd, their families, their allies, and their retinue; *onely their beards, and their little ones, left in Goshen.* I reade of no wife, or daughter absent, no tricke of Religion, or pretence of retired sorrow, to keep them off these publike exequies, to whine a dirge or requiem in a corner. No doubt they sadly followed the hearse euen to the Sepulchre, thinking a teare wrung ouer a parting bed not halfe so emphatiall, as that which is dropt into the graue. Besides, *Ioseph himselfe must be sent for out of Ægypt*; no imployment at Court keepes him off these great solemnities, *but hee goes vp to Canaan with all the seruants of Pharaoh, and all the Elders of his house, and all the Elders of the land of Ægypt, and all his brethren, and his fathers house, and his owne too*; *and they buried him* (saies the Text) *in the cave of the field Machpela, which Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre, Gen.* 50. 13. And indeed, 'twas

Dumptis 306. Annis Salomon enim vixit anno mundi 2930 Iosiah, anno mundi 3324. Iacob 2108. Cytraeus in Chronol.

a religious prouidence the old Patriarches had, in purchasing a possession place for their buriall, and posteritie (a long time) kept it vp, euen to superstition, thinking their bones neuer at rest, till they were laid *in the Sepulchre of their fathers*, which honourable way of interment, in these tympanous and swelling times of ours, (wherein we warre more about matters of title, than religion) were a good meanes to preserue our names from rottennesse; if our contention, and pride, and riot, haue left so much of a deuour'd inheritance as will serue the dimensions of a dead body.

Some noble mansions of the kingdome (heretofore) haue now, scarce, that happinesse. A greene turfe, or a weather-beaten stone, will couer that body, which (ere while) a whole Lordship could hardly cloath; and that life which swum in Tissues, and Imbroideries, in death (scarce) findes a blacke to *mourne* for't about the *streets*. Sad Hearse that hath nothing to wait on't to the graue, but the ruines of a familie, nought to weepe ore't, but the blubbrings and languishments of a gentile bloud, farre more wounding and deplorable, than the condition of some noble caitife, who rather than he will allow death the least triumphs in his funeralls, will haue his treasury, honour, religion too (if he had any) earth'd vp together in his *Long home*:-a ditch were fitter, and some vnnaturall, gouty-fisted heire would like it well; ours doth not, you see, the—*Mourners haue walkt about the street*—'Tis well, and an act no lesse of *duty*, than *religion*; and those which haue beene zealous in't heretofore, haue worne the two rich Epithetes of *charitable, blessed*,—*Blessed are ye of the Lord*, (saith *Dauid* to the men of *Iabesh Gilead*) *that you haue shew'd such charity to your master Saul, and buried him*. Buried him, is not enough, 'tis too naked and thin a ceremonie, except these *Mourners* too *walkt about the streets*. *My Sonne* (saith *Tobit*) *when I die, burie me honestly*, Tob. 14.10. And *Iaakob* (on his death-bed)

2 Sam 2.5.

bed) coniur'd his Sonnes to interre him in a prescript solemnitie, and therefore the Text saith, —*They buried him as they had sworn unto their father*, Gen. 50. 6, 12. And indeed those —*Officia postremi muneris*— (as *Augustine* calls them) those solemne rites which wee strew on the funerals of our deceased friend are no effect of courtesie, but debt, and from an able successour, no lesse expected than required. — *My sonne* (saith *Syracides*) *poure thy teares ouer the dead, and neglect not their burial*. Eccluſ. 38. 66.

And therefore those dispositions are little below barbarous, which snarle at a moderate sorrow, or decent interment of the dead, and had neuer so much learning, or at least so much charitie, as to interpret that of the Apostle, —*Let all things bee done decently, and in order*, 1 Cor. 14. Had not our Sauiour all the Ceremonies of this —*Long home? the cleane linnen cloathes? the sweet ointments? the new Sepulchre?* these *Mourners* (too) *about the streets?* Hee then that in a wayward opinion shall disallow of either, may well deserue the honour of *Iehoiakims* funerall, which is not to bee named without pitie, and some scorne, for the Text saith —*he was to bee buried like an Asse*—. And, for my part, I wish him the happinesse of an *Anchoret*, his *Cell* be his *Church*, and he himselfe both *Priest* and *Grauesman*, not a teare to traile after him to his *long home*, nor a *Mourner-scene-about the streets*. Ierem. 22. 19.

It hath beene a custome of some barbarous Nations (but in this not so despicable) to howle their dead to their long home; others dropt them in with a teare onely, no more —*In ignem posita est, fletur* (saith the Comicke.) That of the *Romanes* was too gaudie a sorrow, and comes well home to the excesse of pompe in the fate of great ones, now, who though in their life time haue slau'd themselues to the world by an ignoble retrait to obscuritie, and miserable thrift, yet at their farewell, and

Going

Going hence, to giue the times a relish and taste of their generousnesse, the —*Mourners shall walke about the streets.* A monument must bee built, a Statue rais'd, Escutcheons hung, for the embalming of his honour, whose name (sometimes) deserues more rottennesse than his carkasse.

That worth is canonicall and straight, which is inroll'd and registred in the impartiall hearts and memories of the people, not in a perfidious Tombe-stone, or periur'd Epitaph. A vertuous life is a mans best Pyramide.

Be thy actions vnblemish'd, squar'd out to Religion, vertue, *Euerie heart's a Tombe, and euerie tongue an Epitaph.* And thus ballac'd thou need'st not feare any flotings of the times, any moth or *gangrene* either on thy state, or name; but when death *shall take downe those rottenstickes wherewith thy earthly tent is compos'd*, thy gray haires shall goe in peace to their long home, and the —*Mourners shall walke about the streets.*

They haue walk't now, and done their deuoyer in their last way of ceremony. But where's the *bodie* I promis'd you to interre? sure *some Disciple stole't away by night*, and laid it in its *long home*, where it is now vnder the bondage of corruption. But there is somewhat left behinde, which I would willingly preserue from rottennesse, his name: to which, though I may lay some challenge in respect of bloud, little of acquaintance; that, being as great a stranger to mee, as the passages of his life, or death; so what I shall speake, is both *traditionarie*, and *short*, verie *short*, thus.

Hee was a man of more reseruednesse than expression, both in his act and word, and of the two, hee had rather doe courtesies, than professe them. His outward deportment, and face of carriage (where not knowne) sowre and rough. In his passions (for which he

he hath suffer'd strangely in the censures of the world) somewhat windy & tempestuous, but such as had authority onely from the tongue, not the heart, and as soone ore-blowne, as occasion'd, nought else but a greene leafe in a flame, crack'r, sparkled, and so out. His rule of friendship the best, not popular, but choice, & there too, where it found truth, no glosse; there vnshooke, nobly-constant, his both in his heart, & in his purse; not in his purse, (as *Seneca* writes of *Sicilius, where nought could be extracted but an hundred vpon an hundred)* or as your *Hackney* Mynt-men for the most part doe, *ten vpon the same number*, but that trebled, many times, for nothing, as the elemency of some vnpersecuting scroles can testifie. His contribution, and beneuolence in way of almes, rather powr'd out, than giuen, as if pouerty had beene the obiect of his profusenesse, not of his relesse; yet that without froth of ostentation, without reference to merit, on the grounds of a true charitie. His Religion (wherein the world thought hee had wau'd and totter'd) vpon his accounts to God, and his inlargements and declarations to his friends, on his death-bed, fast to the Church of *England*; which, (though in the last act) was beleager'd by some emasculate suggestions, yet blessed bee the circumspection of a carefull Sonne, it stood vnbatter'd, and in that loyaltie and strength, hee penitently gaue vp his soule into the hands of his Redeemer.

And now hee is gone, let his imperfections follow, and the memorie of them rot, and moulder with his bodie; hee had many, some preualent; and (good Lord) which of vs haue not in a large proportion! But they are our *earthie*, and *dustie*, and *ashie* part, so they were his; let them bee buried with him; shouell them into his graue; *Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust*; let them spring no more,

to the foyling and dishonour of his name, or our owne vncharitablenesse, but let his ashes rest in peace; for hee is now —*Gone to his long home, and the mourners haue walkt for him about the streets.*

Gloria in excelsis Deo.
Amen.

FINIS.